88017899

HN 79 .M9
A667 1982

COMMUNITY RESEARCH WORKING PAPER:
FORSYTH, MONTANA

BLM SOCIAL EFFECTS PROJECT

by

Douglas A. Hooper
Kristi Branch

Prepared by:

Mountain West Research-North, Inc.
in association with Western Research Corporation

Prepared for:

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT
Contract No. AA851-CTO-46

August 1982

#20612696
ID88017899

HN
79
.M9
A667
1982

PROJECT TEAM
BLM SOCIAL EFFECTS PROJECT

BLM Project Coordinators

Paul Myers
Tony Guida
Julia Jordan
Frances Sullivan

Project Director

James R. Moore, Mountain West Research-North, Inc.

Project Co-managers

Kristi Branch, Mountain West Research-North, Inc.
James G. Thompson, Western Research Corporation

Project Team

Stan Albrecht, Brigham Young University
Pamela Bergmann, Mountain West Research-North, Inc.
James Creighton, Creighton and Creighton
Douglas A. Hooper, Mountain West Research-North, Inc.
Pat Jobes, Montana State University
Robert L. Kimble, Western Research Corporation
Errol Meidinger, Lewis and Clark Law School
Steve Murdock, Texas A and M University
David Pijawka, Arizona State University
Allan Schnaiberg, Northwestern University
Matt Snipp, Summers Associates
Gene Summers, Summers Associates
Ken Wilkinson, Pennsylvania State University
Gary Williams, Western Research Corporation

Field Research conducted in November 1981 by

Douglas A. Hooper

Secondary data compiled by

Marion Cherne
Diann Sebald

Technical Editing

Sharryl Pyke

BLM LIBRARY
SC-324A, BLDG. 50
DENVER FEDERAL CENTER
P. O. BOX 25047
DENVER, CO 80225-0047

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

1. Introduction 1

2. Historical Analysis of the Community 17

3. Chronology and Discussion of Major Events and Issues During the Impact Period. 23

4. Differentiation. 57

5. Stratification 67

6. Extra-local Linkages 74

7. Integration. 81

8. Indicators of Community Well-being 87

9. Summary. 103

Appendix A - Example Interview Guide A-1

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

1-1 Social Organization Model 6
1-2 Location of Study Communities 10
1-3 Rosebud County. 11
3-1 Population Trends 32

LIST OF TABLES

Page

1-1 Communities Tentatively Selected for Primary Field Research 12
2-1 Community Population, Rosebud County 22
3-1 Project Descriptions 25
3-2 Work Force for Rosebud Mine and Colstrip Units 1 and 2 and 3 and 4. 27
3-3 Population Estimates, Rosebud County 33
3-4 Age Distribution, Forsyth and United States. 36
3-5 Educational Attainments, Forsyth Montana and the United States. 38
3-6 Occupations of Household Heads, Forsyth, Montana 40
3-7 Occupations of Spouses, Forsyth, Montana 42
3-8 Industry of Employed Spouses, Forsyth, Montana 43
3-9 Employment by Industry by Place of Work. 44
3-10 Annual Household Income. 47
3-11 Median Annual Household Income 49
3-12 Home Ownership, Forsyth Residents. 51
3-13 Type of Dwelling Lived In, Forsyth Residents 52
3-14 Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with Community Facilities, Forsyth Residents. 55
8-1 Indicators of Community Well-being - Suicide 88
8-2 Indicators of Community Well-being - Divorce 89
8-3 Indicators of Community Well-being - Infant Mortality. . . 91
8-4 Crime by Categories, Rosebud County. 92
8-5 Indicators of Community Well-being - Crime 93
8-6 Indicators of Community Well-being - Per Capita Income . . 94
8-7 Indicators of Community Well-being - Unemployment. 96
8-8 Public Assistance, Rosebud County. 97
8-9 Indicators of Community Well-being - Retail Business . . . 98
8-10 Indicators of Community Well-being - Pupil/teacher Ratio. 99
8-11 Indicators of Community Well-being - Rosebud County Medical. 101

1. INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This report on Forsyth, Montana is one in a series of ten community research working papers documenting the field research conducted as part of the BLM Social Effects Project. The project was designed to improve social assessment methods by conducting the necessary literature and primary research to develop and support a Guide to Social Assessment.

The project had five major components. The first component, a review of the literature, provided the basis for developing an analytic framework for the assessment of social effects of energy development. The literature review was organized into the following subject areas:

1) Social organization
2) Political organization
3) Economic organization
4) Population and demography
5) Family
6) Specific groups, including Native Americans, women, and youth
7) Attitudes, values, and quality of life
8) Mitigation

The second component, the Social Effects Conference, was held in Denver in October 1980. The conference brought representatives of state governments, the BLM, and the academic community together to determine what the focus of the project would be. A principal objective was to integrate the perspectives of decision-makers and sociologists and develop a common set of assessment priorities.

The third component of the project, the research component, was based on the results of the literature analysis and the Social Effects Conference. The priorities identified for study centered on changes in community social organization and indicators of community well-being.

The fourth component of the project was the preparation of a social assessment guide. The Guide is the major product of the project; to ensure its applicability, it was given a trial application under actual field conditions.

The fifth component of the project was a public involvement effort to keep interest groups informed about the project. Meetings with BLM and state officials were held to brief them on the project and to solicit comments. A periodic bulletin was distributed to inform others about the project. In addition, training workshops for BLM social scientists were held to instruct them in the use of the Guide.

1.2 Purposes of the Research Effort

The research component was included in the project to achieve four major objectives:

1) To identify social effects, including those suggested by the literature review and conference and to verify them by field investigation
2) To test the analytic framework which was developed as a basis for the Guide
3) To further elucidate the mechanisms that cause social effects to occur in energy impact areas
4) To test field procedures and the conceptual approach at a level of effort comparable to that available to BLM staff conducting social assessments

Although there were differences in emphasis among conference participants, seven priority assessment topics were identified as being of greatest concern:

1) What is the distribution of socioeconomic effects among groups in impacted areas?
2) What determines the capacity of communities to manage growth?
3) What are the attitudes of residents, both old and new, toward development?
4) What are the effects on community facilities and services?
5) What are the major lifestyle and social organization changes resulting from energy development?

6) What are effective mitigation strategies?

7) How can cumulative social effects be measured or described?

Conference participants also emphasized that BLM needed an assessment method that could handle site-specific variations and that would be compatible with the multi-phase BLM assessment and planning processes.

The research phase was to last nine months, and financial resources were limited. Clearly, the research effort could not do justice to all seven of the research priorities summarized above, and it was not BLM's intention that the research effort provide definitive answers to all social impact questions. The goal was to devise an analytic framework that would produce effective social assessments given the BLM process and, at the same time, to learn as much about the above areas of concern as the limited resources permitted. Thus, the project team was given the seven research priorities and was asked to create an appropriate analytic framework and method for implementing the research effort.

1.3 The Analytic Framework

Several general criteria guided the development of the analytic framework. The first criterion was to be sure that the subject of the research was clearly social in nature. The BLM believed that enough was known about how to do economic and demographic assessments as well as facilites and services assessments, but that social assessments needed improvement.

Second, if possible, BLM wanted the assessment process to discriminate between social effects that could be mitigated and those that probably could not. Before BLM or state and local entities can require mitigation, the effects must be known and feasible mitigation methods must be understood.

Third, the framework needed to be implementable within a variety of resource constraints. Each assessment effort within BLM has different constraints of time, personnel, and funding. Thus, the framework needed to be workable under a variety of conditions.

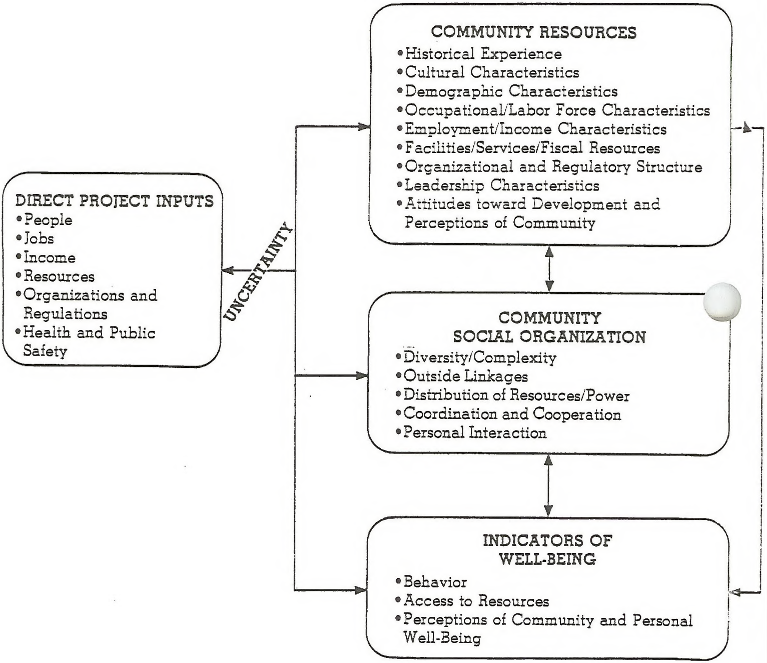
A final criterion was that the framework should not only enable the forecasting of effects, but also should allow for determining the significance of effects for various populations; that is, a basis was needed to determine the meaning of social effects.

In response to these criteria, an analytic framework was developed that is based upon the concept of social organization. As used in this project, social organization is a community level concept and is discussed in detail by Wilkinson in the Literature Review (Thompson and Branch 1981). Basically, it focuses on the social structures and processes of community social organization as the most critical social characteristics potentially affected by energy development. This framework posits that change in the fundamental processes of social organization -- complexity/diversity, outside linkages, distribution of resources/power, coordination and coorperation, and their collective effects on personal interaction -- are among the most influential social effects of energy development. With the processes of social organization as a central focus and the desire to forecast social change caused by energy development as the principal objective, the conceptual model shown in Figure 1-1 was developed as the framework which could be used to construct the BLM social assessment guide.

The model, Figure 1-1, has four major components: (1) direct project inputs (projects, leasing decisions, resource management plans), (2) the community's resources, (3) its social organization, (4) and the well-being of individuals in the community and their perception of the community. The normative goal of social assessment is to estimate the effects of exogenous inputs on the well-being of individuals. This involves analysis of the effect of the inputs on the resources available in a community, on the social organization of the community, and finally on the well-being of individuals in the community. It thus specifies

FIGURE 1-1

Social Organization Model


COMMUNITY RESOURCES
• Historical Experience
• Cultural Characteristics
• Demographic Characteristics
• Occupational/Labor Force Characteristics
• Employment/Income Characteristics
• Facilities/Services/Fiscal Resources
• Organizational and Regulatory Structure
• Leadership Characteristics
• Attitudes toward Development and Perceptions of Community
DIRECT PROJECT INPUTS
• People
• Jobs
• Income
• Resources
• Organizations and Regulations
• Health and Public Safety
UNCERTAINTY
COMMUNITY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
• Diversity/Complexity
• Outside Linkages
• Distribution of Resources/Power
• Coordination and Cooperation
• Personal Interaction
INDICATORS OF WELL-BEING
• Behavior
• Access to Resources
• Perceptions of Community and Personal Well-Being

the community as an important unit of analysis for the assessment of large scale projects.

Based on the literature review and the BLM conference results, these four components were thought to incorporate the significant dimensions of social impact assessment. When combined with a theoretical concept of social well-being that addresses the role of the community in serving the social needs of its members, it provides a basis for examining not only the effect of the project upon social organization but also for examining the relationship between social organization and individual well-being.

A principal advantage of the model (Figure 1-1) is that it clarifies the relationship between the social assessment component and the other components of the total assessment process (that is, economic/ demographic, facilities and services, and natural environment). It also makes more explicit the mechanisms by which exogenous inputs modify community resources and social organization, and ultimately, individual well-being -- directly by the primary effect of the inputs, and indirectly by changing interaction patterns among the components.

1.4 Research Design

The research effort consisted of conducting ten comparative community case studies. These were imperative since little secondary data exist for the social variables specified in the model. Further, since the social organization variables have received little attention in western social impact research, there was little known about them. Consequently, the case study effort was divided into two phases. The first phase were exploratory in nature and included four communities. More time and effort was allocated to these communites to determine the utility of the model, and to identify major relationships and variables. In the second phase, six more communities were included, but the effort was more focused and fewer resources were expended per community. Forsyth was included in the first phase effort.

As stated above, the analytic framework devised to guide the research, Figure 1-1, dictates that the "community" be included as a unit when assessing the social effects of large-scale projects. This approach suggests that the social meaning of development for members of a social unit, the community, is determined largely by the interaction of exogenous inputs with the community's resources and its social organization.

Using this approach meant the focus of the research had to be the community itself. It was decided the focus had to be further restricted to rural communities, those with less than 25,000 people. This was important because many of the problems facing BLM are concerned with disruption in rural, western towns. Further, mostly primary data had to be collected by the research team in the field, and it was important that the results be as easily generalized as possible. Since in-depth studies of only a few cases could produce misleading results, it was important to include as many cases as possible. Eventually, ten case communities were selected.

To obtain data needed for the four components of the model, two main data sources were identified: unstructured interviews and secondary data available only at the state or local level. Secondary data were collected locally for the inputs and community resource components, and for rates of behaviors. Unstructured interviewing was used to collect data on social organization processes and the other two major indicators of well-being -- access to resources and perceptions of the community.

Field research teams of two each were used, with ten members of the project team participating. Of these ten members, nine had considerable experience interviewing in energy-impacted towns, and rotation of team members among teams was used to minimize interviewer bias. Field instruments and procedures were developed and pretested by a three-person team before research on the ten communities was initiated.

1.5 Selection of Study Communities

A purposeful sampling of communities in the six-state study region based on the following criteria was decided to be the most effective sampling procedure:

1) The community must have had input from a major energy project between the years 1965 and 1980.
2) The energy development impacting the community had to be a mine, a processing plant (or both), or a gas and oilfield development. Employment had to total at least 300 people, since this was approximately the minimum size of projects likely to result from the BLM leasing process. (Although a preference was shown for coal development, other energy activity qualified.).
3) The community had to be outside a metropolitan area.
4) The energy development had to be past the peak of the construction phase, and preferably, construction had been completed.
5) Because of the tremendous differences in legal and organizational structure between the six states, there had to be representation from each state -- preferably two communities from each state.
6) If possible, one of the communities in each state was to be relatively large and one relatively small (compared to the range of community sizes in the six state area).

From the following list of all communities in the six state region that met these criteria, the communities indicated with an asterisk were tentatively selected for primary field research (See Table 1-1).

Figure 1-2 is a regional map of the United States which shows the six states with the twelve communities selected for study. Figure 1-3 is a more detailed map of Montana and Rosebud County and includes highways and other cities and towns. Of the twelve communites selected, ten case studies were completed. Some secondary data were collected for Center, North Dakota and Bloomfield, New Mexico, but because of limitations of time and funding, interviews were not conducted for these two communities.

1.6 Field Procedures and Instruments

The field instruments used were semi-structured interview protocol forms which are included in Appendix A. In addition, the field team was

FIGURE 1-2

Location of Study Communities

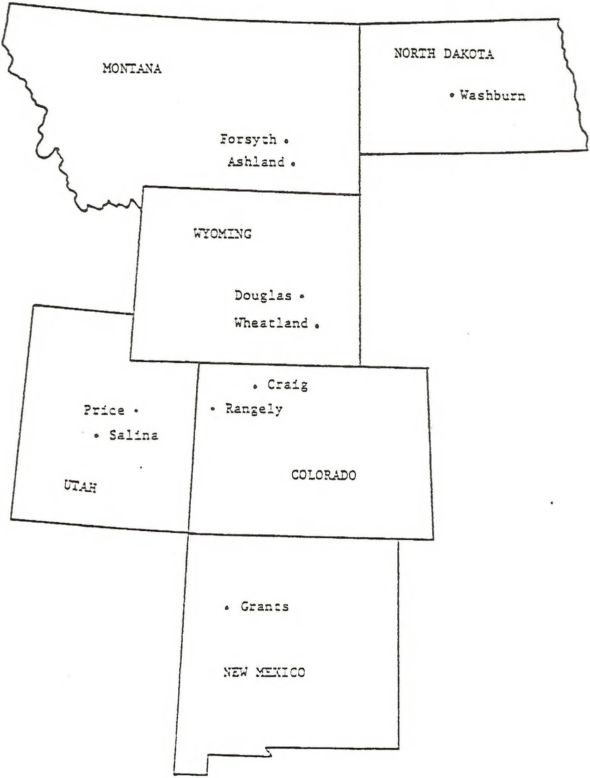


FIGURE 1-3
Rosebud County

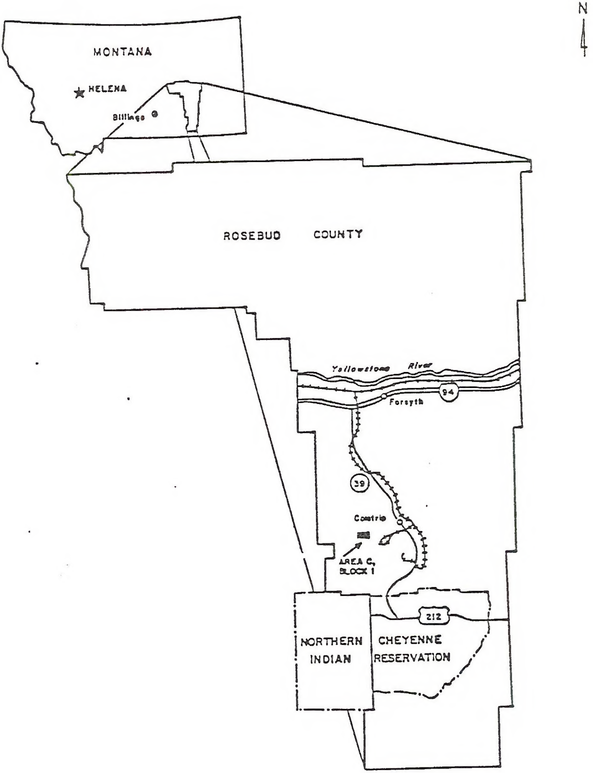


TABLE 1-1

Communities Tentatively Selected for Primary Field Research

State	County	Town or Community
Colorado	Delta	Cedaredge Delta Paonia
	Garfield	Carbondale Newcastle Rifle
	Gunnison	Crested Butte Gunnison Pitkin
	Jackson	Walden
	Moffatt	*Craig
	Rio Blanco	Meeker *Rangely
	Routt	Hayden
Montana	Rosebud	*Ashland Birney Busby Colstrip Decker *Forsyth Lame Deer
New Mexico	Colfax	Raton
	McKinley	Gallup Thoreau
	San Juan	Aztec Blanco *Bloomfield Farmington Shiprock
	Cibola (formerly Valencia)	*Grants

TABLE 1-1 (cont.)

State	County	Town or Community
North Dakota	McLean	Garrison Underwood *Washburn
	Mercer	Beulah Hazen
	Oliver	*Center
Utah	Carbon	East Carbon Helper *Price Wellington
	Emery	Castle Dale Cleveland Emery Huntington Orangeville
	Sevier	*Salina
Wyoming	Campbell	Gillette Wright
	Carbon	Rawlins Sinclair Wolcott Junction
	Converse	*Douglas Glenrock
	Johnson	Buffalo
	Lincoln-Uinta	Evanston Kemmerer
	Platte	Glendo Guernsey *Wheatland
	Sheridan	Big Horn Dayton Ranchester Sheridan Story
	Sweetwater	Green River Rock Springs

given an outline which specified the structure of the community reports. However, because the research was partially exploratory, the structure of the reports was deliberately left flexible to accommodate unexpected observations and findings.

The emphasis in the research was to examine the applicability and veracity of the analytic framework and to determine whether these concepts were workable and effective within the research and data constraints of the assessment process. One of the real questions to be answered by the research was whether the social organization model was operational within Bureau Assessment Conditions.

Field procedures involved several general instructions. Mountain West Research and Wyoming Research prepared community information packages for each community when possible. This information was given to team members before they visited the community so they would have a knowledge base before they began to interview. Team members were encouraged to schedule the first two or three interviews before going to the community, but were urged to let their interviews list develop as they worked in the community. For the first four communities, ten to sixteen man-days were allocated for field work; the remaining six communities were allocated six to ten man-days.

The instruments were pretested in Gillette, Wyoming by three senior members of the team. Appropriate revisions were made and the instruments were then retested in Douglas, Wyoming, with another senior member of the team being substituted. This test was satisfactory and the revised instruments were used in the ten study communities. It needs to be stressed, however, that the instruments were not highly structured. Team members, for the most part, were highly experienced in field research and emphasis was placed on acquiring as much information as possible. This was an applied project, not a testing of a well-defined theory, and the emphasis was on increasing the information base.

Interviewers were requested to make detailed notes of interviews; the primary validity of the findings is based on concurrence of the team members. Of the ten field team participants, seven have a Ph.D. in sociology, five had worked on western social impact studies for at least five years, and four had worked in this area for over eight years.

1.7 Limitations and Concepts

Several limitations of the research and the report need to be noted.

First, because there was a high priority on applying the analytic framework to as wide a range of communities as possible, and an interest in utilizing techniques comparable to those that would be employed in the assessment process, the level of effort for research in each community was limited. This, combined with the focus of the research on delineating trends and evaluations of changes in community resources, social organization and social well-being, meant that less effort was expended verifying specific items of information than would have been the case in a more concentrated study of a single community. As a result, readers should be aware that some of the details about the communities may be in error. For example, dates may not be precise.

Second, in order to rigorously examine the causal relationships between exogenous inputs and community response, the exogenous inputs need to be more clearly specified than this approach allowed. Ideally, an economic/demographic analysis would have been incorporated in the research. However, the specifications of the project and budget and time constraints did not allow a greater economic and demographic effort.

Third, the research reports were developed primarily as working papers to be used by the project team in developing the Summary Research Report and the Guide to Social Assessment. They have been prepared for release because it was felt that they provided valuable information on topics where research results are very scarce. Because of their genesis, the reports do not contain as extensive documentation or referencing as would have been included if they had been prepared as final, stand-alone documents, nor is the prose as polished as it might be.

Nevertheless, these limitations do not necessarily lessen the usefulness of the findings; rather, they indicate areas were caution should be exercised in interpreting and applying the results.

1.8 Organization of the Report

This report is organized to correspond with the social organization model, with some accommodation to the need for orientation to the community early-on. The second chapter presents a brief summary of the history of the community and its resources. The third chapter describes the resource development activities in the vicinity of the community. Chapters 4 through 7 discuss the changes that occurred in the social organization of the community as a result of the energy development in the following sequence: (1) differentiation (complexity/diversity), (2) extralocal linkages, (3) stratification, and (4) integration and personal interaction. Chapter 8 addresses the effects of the energy development on various indicators of well-being. Chapter 9 provides a brief overall summary.

2. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY

2. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY

2.1 Location and History of Development

Forsyth, Montana is situated on the Yellowstone River in the center of Rosebud County. It is the county seat and administrative center of Rosebud County. As shown in Figure 1-3, it is 38 miles north of Colstrip, the largest coal-related development in Montana, 100 miles by I-94 from Billings, the main regional center, and 45 miles from Miles City, the nearest large town. Due to the fact that Forsyth is sandwiched between I-94 on the south and the Yellowstone River on the north, the community has grown along its east-west axis.

Settlement of what is now Forsyth began in 1877 with the establishment of Thomas Alexander's homestead. In 1882, the Northern Pacific Railroad was being constructed through southeastern Montana. Forsyth was chosen as a division point since it was halfway between Billings and Glendive, and the Northern Pacific Railroad purchased land from Alexander to set up its installation. The town was named after General James Forsyth of the 7th Cavalry, who explored the area.

Initially, Forsyth was included in Custer County. When the Montana legislature established new counties in 1901, the western part of Custer County containing Forsyth was split off and named Rosebud County. In 1904, Forsyth received its town charter and became the county seat.

In 1909, the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad laid its track through Forsyth so that the community was served by, and served, two transcontinental railroads.

Much of Rosebud County was settled as a consequence of promotional efforts by the railroads to get people to homestead the area. The decade of 1910 to 1920 was the period of most intensive settlement. In 1923, the population peaked at about 2,500 persons. For many of these new homesteaders, Forsyth constituted "town."

In 1923, following a serious railroad strike, the Northern Pacific (NP) Railroad removed its roundhouse and shops from Forsyth, although the town was retained as a division point. Simultaneously, a new spur line to Colstrip was built for the newly established NP coal mine there. This nullified some of the effects of Northern Pacific's pullout, but the town's change in status in relation to the railroad signaled a period of economic and population decline.

The depression and drought of the 1930s drove many of the homesteaders from their farms. Many left Montana altogether, but a number moved into Forsyth to live. As production at the NP mine in Colstrip increased (to a peak of 2.5 MMTPY in 1943) for the war effort, the Forsyth economy was bolstered. But when World War II ended and trains switched to diesel fuel, mine production was cut until the mine was shut down in 1958. Between 1950 and 1970, the population of Rosebud County as a whole declined slowly, but steadily, falling from 6,570 to 6,032 people. Agriculture increased in importance to the local economy.

By the late 1960s, Forsyth was a dying town, with a population of 1,873. The railroad, which employed about 120 people, was considering pulling out of Forsyth completely, and the number of ranches in the area was steadily, if slowly, decreasing. For the most part, young adults were leaving the community upon graduation from high school. The construction of I-94 in 1970-71 resulted in the demolition of a substantial portion of the town's residential area.

2.2 Economic Base of the Community

Historically, Forsyth and Rosebud County were economically dependent upon the railroad and agriculture but had a long history (1923-59) of experience with coal mining. Forsyth residents generally considered it a railroad town. With the advent of the Colstrip power plant developments in the 1970s, commerce and construction took on an increased importance in the community's economic base, reducing agriculture's economic position to third. This is not to say that agricultural activity was reduced to an insignificant element of the economic base. Agriculture remained economically, symbolically, and spatially a driving force in the county and therefore in the town, but it was no longer dominant.

Forsyth was historically the center of nonagricultural employment in Rosebud County, with a significantly higher proportion of trade, service, governmental and transportation sector employment than the county as a whole. Employment data specific to Forsyth are unavailable. During the 1950s and 1960s, the economy of Rosebud County suffered due to the nationwide decline in agriculture, a trend only somewhat offset by increases in manufacturing (mainly sawmills) and services (mainly associated with the Northern Cheyenne Reservation). Following 1968, the county's economy experienced a significant change in industrial structure primarily due to energy development (see Chapter 3).

2.3 Previous Mineral and Energy Development (before 1965)

Forsyth's experience with energy development prior to the 1970s was with coal mining, and was indirect. Between 1924 and 1958, while the NP coal mine was in operation at Colstrip, Forsyth was the terminal for the railroad spur that went to Colstrip. Other than this, no other energy development significantly affected Forsyth prior to 1968 when Western Energy's Rosebud coal mine was opened near Colstrip.

2.4 Relationship to Other Communities

Forsyth has always been the Rosebud County seat. It has, therefore, played an important role relative to the rest of the county. However, since Forsyth is the only incorporated community in the county, there are no formal intergovernmental relations between the town and neighboring communities. Most administrative functions outside the town limits are carried out by the county. The presence of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, with its formal legal status and administrative ties to local, state, and federal governmental agencies has added a degree of formality and legalism that is not usually found in relationships between the communities of a rural, western county.

Until the mid-1970s, with the maturation and growth of Colstrip (a company-owned town 38 miles south of Forsyth), Forsyth was the undisputed trade, administrative, and activity center of the county. The data on population distribution within Rosebud County (Table 2-1) illustrate the changes that occurred in the relative proportion of county population living in Forsyth between 1970 and 1980.

TABLE 2-1

Community Population
Rosebud County
1970-1980

Community	Population 1970	Population 1980	Percent Change 1970-1980	Percent of County Population 1970	Percent of County Population 1980
Ashland, Lame Deer, Birney	2,635	3,452	31.0	43.7	30.0
Ashland (town)		400			3.5
Birney (town)		133			1.2
Lame Deer (town)		1,002			8.7
Rest of Division		1,917			16.6
Colstrip (town)	200	3,750	1,675.0	3.3	32.6
Forsyth City	1,873	2,553	36.3	31.1	22.1
Rest of County	1,324	1,760	32.9	21.9	15.3
Total County Population	6,032	11,515	87.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Mountain West Research, Inc., 1981.

3. CHRONOLOGY AND DISCUSSION OF MAJOR EVENTS AND ISSUES DURING THE IMPACT PERIOD

3. CHRONOLOGY AND DISCUSSION OF MAJOR EVENTS AND ISSUES DURING THE IMPACT PERIOD

3.1 Definition of the Impact Period

The impact in Forsyth resulted almost entirely from the coal mining and coal-fired generating facilities located in Colstrip (the Rosebud mine and Colstrip units 1, 2, 3, and 4) and the Big Sky Mine further south. For Forsyth, the impact period can be defined as the period from 1968 to the time of the study (November 1981). This time period includes the following events:

1) The opening of Western Energy's Rosebud mine at Colstrip in 1968 (previously operated by Northern Pacific)
2) The construction of Colstrip units 1 and 2 power generating plants by Montana Power Company (1972 to 1976)
3) The time of uncertainty and controversy between the end of construction of Colstrip units 1 and 2, and the beginning of construction of Colstrip units 3 and 4 (1977-1979)
4) The period from initiation of construction on units 3 and 4 to the time of the study (1980-1981)

The dates of these events are given in Section 3.2. The energy development activities affecting Forsyth are summarized in Table 3-1.

3.2 Chronology of Major Events, Issues, and Actions[1]

The impact period for Forsyth began in 1968 with the opening of the Rosebud mine at Colstrip, although Forsyth received little actual impact from the mine. The announced plans of Montana Power Company (MPC)/ Western Energy were for the mine to supply coal to their Corette power plant at Billings.[2] However, the Corette plant required only 550,000

---

[1] Unless otherwise identified, the material in this section is taken from the front page of the Forsyth Independent from 1 January 1970 to 31 December 1976.

[2] The Forsyth town council had approached Montana Power Company to encourage them to build the Corette plant near Forsyth in order to stimulate the economy and increase the tax base of the community. They were unsuccessful.

TABLE 3-1

Project Descriptions
1965-1960

Sponsor(s)	Type of Project	Location	Schedule	Employment
Montana Power (E) and Pugent Sound Power and Light	Coal Fired Power Plant Colstrip 1 & 2,(E) Colstrip 3 & 4(P)	Colstrip	Units 1-1975 2-1976 3&4-1984	Peak operation 1975 (76) 1976 (76) Peak construction 1975(1383) Peak operation 1985 (300) Peak construction 1982 (2,366)
Peabody Coal Company (E)	Coal Mine Name: Big Sky	5 miles S. of Colstrip	Began 1969	Production 1978 (82) 1979 (89)
Western Energy Company (E) (a subsidiary of Montana Power)	Coal Mine Name: Rosebud	Colstrip	Began 1968 - reopening of old NP mine	Production 1969 (165) 1975 (267) 1980 (330) Construction 1979 (45) 1980 (10)
MONTCO (proposed) (P)	Coal Strip Mine unnamed	S. of Ashland along Tongue River	To begin 1984	Construction peak 1983 (450) Operations peak 1987 (425)
Tongue River Railroad and CX Ranch Mine and Peter Kiewit Mine (proposed)	Coal strip mines and coal transport railroad	S. of Ashland along Tongue River	To begin in mid 1980s	

Source: Mountain West Research, Inc., Montana Energy Projects, Rosebud County 1981.

Note: (E) = existing
(P) = proposed

tons of coal a year, leaving approximately 2 million tons of surplus capacity at the Rosebud mine. As the demand for low sulfur coal increased, Western Energy expanded the mining operation, increasing production to 5.2 MMTPY in 1971 and raising the size of the operations work force to about 165 workers. (Mountain West Research, Inc. unpub- lished data 1981; White 1976.)

The first indications that power generating plants might be built at Colstrip came in August 1970 when an article in the Forsyth Independent reported rumors of such plans. There was, however, no official confirmation that the plants would actually be built.

An official announcement that a power plant would be built at Colstrip was made in late July 1971, when MPC and Puget Sound Power and Light announced that a power plant would be constructed at Colstrip at a cost of $60,000,000. The plant was projected to employ 400 workers. In late January 1972, plans for the construction of a second unit in Colstrip were announced. The second plant was forecast to require 500 construction workers. The actual construction of Colstrip units 1 and 2 began on 18 May 1972. Bechtel Corporation served as the prime contractor for the two 350 Mw generating plants. The construction and operations phase employment for units 1 and 2 are shown in Table 3-2.

In mid-June 1973, plans for the construction of two additional 700 Mw units (Colstrip units 3 and 4) were announced. The construction of Colstrip units 1 and 2, and the plans for 3 and 4 stimulated the formation of several opposition groups made up mostly of ranchers. The Tri-county Ranchers' Association, the Rosebud Protective Association (which became affiliated with the Northern Plains Resource Council), and the Rosebud Creek Rancher's Association (which may have been the forerunner of the Rosebud Protective Association) were established within a year of the June 1973 Colstrip units 3 and 4 announcement. In June 1974, the Rosebud Protective Association asked for support in blocking Colstrip units 3 and 4. It is important to note that within the town of Forsyth, no organizations either supporting or opposing the development were established.

TABLE 3-2

Work Force for Rosebud Mine and Colstrip Units 1 & 2 and 3 & 4

Year	Average Annual Employment					
	Rosebud Mine		Colstrip 1&2		Colstrip 3&4	
	Construction	Operation	Construction	Operation	Construction	Operation
1969[b]		82				
1970[b]		125				
1971[b]		165	23			
1972		165	197			
1973		157	620	1		
1974		167	1,342	18		
1975		267	1,632	73		
1976		306	917	103		
1977		308	341	161		
1978		331	320	206		
1979	45	331	90	220	38	
1980	10	331	90	220	1,030	7
1981	41	331		220	1,839	146
1982[b]	140	331		220	2,366	278
1983[b]	243	331		220	1,738	283
1984[b]				220	246	263
1985[b]				220	58	

Source: Mountain West Research, Inc.

Note: In addition, employment at the Big Sky Mine increased from 60 workers in the early 1970s to 90 workers in the late 70s and rose to about 110 in the early 1980s.

[a] Includes 32 school district employees and town management personnel.
[b] Forecast

In August 1974, MPC issued a statement that one additional power plant, Colstrip unit 5, was planned but that no other units were being considered. (These plans were later dropped, and at the time of the study no indications were made that the fifth unit was still being considered.)

In 1975, the Coal Severance Tax Bill was passed by the Montana state legislature. This bill, authored in part by the state representative from Rosebud County, Ernie Dassinger, provided for a 30 percent severance tax on the contract sales price of all coal mined in Montana, after the first 20,000 tons per person. The coal severance tax bill stipulated that 26.5 percent of all funds from the severance tax be made available to local governmental units in coal impact areas until 1 July 1979, with 37.5 percent of all funds available to such units thereafter (Montana Energy Almanac 1978).

A Coal Board composed of seven members appointed by the governor was established in 1975. The Board was given the responsibility to review applications and grant the monies to those local governmental units which had been, or were likely to be, impacted by coal development. Fifty percent of the money from the Coal Board was to go to those local governmental units which had or anticipated a 10 percent coal-related increase in population in any three-year period since 1972. The Coal Board was to grant funds on the basis of need, degree of severity of impact, availability of funds, and degree of local effort in meeting the need (DNRC 1979:77). Local effort included local bond issues and millage levies (DNRC 1979:33).

Forsyth fit all the criteria and made numerous grant applications to the Coal Board in late 1975. In 1976, Forsyth received large amounts of grant funds from the Coal Board to deal with the impacts that had occurred. The effects of the Coal Board and Forsyth's response are discussed in later sections.

Colstrip units 1 and 2 began operation in September 1975. It had been planned that construction of units 3 and 4 would begin almost immediately. Indeed, many of the construction workers stayed in the area anticipating that new jobs would be opening up soon. However, such was not the case. The rancher-dominated organizations (Northern Plains Resource Council, Ranchers' Protective Association) fought the construction of units 3 and 4 in the courts and state permitting agencies. One of the major issues was the plants' impact on air quality and the jurisdictional authority to assess potential impacts and issue permits. On 1 July 1976, the Forsyth Independent reported that units 3 and 4 had finally been approved, but the opposition to units 3 and 4 continued, and successfully delayed project implementation until 1980. The fight over Colstrip units 3 and 4 was perhaps one of the most bitter in Rosebud County history.

Locally, the battle over units 3 and 4 was almost entirely between the rancher organizations and Montana Power Company. As with units 1 and 2, no pro-development groups were organized until the People for Economic Progress, a group centered in Forsyth, emerged in the late 1970s.

The fight over Colstrip units 3 and 4 extended from the original announcement by MPC until September 1979. At that time, two events occurred which insured that the project would proceed. First, the city of Forsyth underwrote the industrial bonds for the pollution control units for the power plants, agreeing to issue the bonds after both the state of Montana and Rosebud County had refused to do so. Second, the Montana Supreme Court decided in September 1979 "that the state boards which had approved construction of the power plants have cured the defects in their approval procedures" (Rosebud County Press 1979). With this decision, the last legal challenge to the construction of units 3 and 4 was dismissed. Work on units 3 and 4 began immediately thereafter.

Impacts to Forsyth resulted primarily from the developments in Colstrip. The magnitude of the impacts that occurred in Forsyth were closely tied to the actions taken by the Montana Power Company in establishing, expanding, and administering facilities in Colstrip.

3.3 Mitigating Actions by Montana Power Company

Key factors in the course of energy development in Rosebud County and Forsyth were the maintenance of Colstrip as a company town and the town-site development activities undertaken by Montana Power Company to prevent or mitigate the adverse living conditions that often result from remote location and the temporary nature of population influx.

The Northern Pacific Railroad had established Colstrip in 1924 when it opened a strip mine there to supply railroad fuel. The population of Colstrip peaked at about 600 people in 1943. When World War II ended, and the railroads changed to diesel, the mine became unnecessary and consequently closed in 1958. In 1959, Montana Power Company bought the town of Colstrip, the mine, and the mining equipment (Rosebud County Bicentennial Committee 1977:347-48).

As construction of the Colstrip plants proceeded, Montana Power Company undertook a major townsite construction and administration effort, providing both temporary (including a bachelor camp) and permanent housing, buildings for commercial establishment and community facilities (including a recreation center, parks and streets), and administration for the growing population. This effort was initiated in 1973 and was wide-ranging. In addition to housing, the company organized and undertook the construction of a new water and sewage system for Colstrip. To accommodate the surge in student population, the company purchased temporary classrooms which were leased back to the school district at no charge.

The company also established a training program to encourage employment of Northern Cheyenne from the nearby reservation. It was estimated that as many as 150 Northern Cheyenne might be employed by Bechtel and its subcontractors at peak construction, and that affirmative action programs might account for the employment of 100 Northern Cheyenne as operations workers on units 3 and 4. In 1980, Bechtel Corporation employed 46 Northern Cheyenne in its construction effort for units 3 and 4. Almost all of these workers remained residents of the reservation (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1980).

However, the company's efforts were focused primarily in Colstrip, where the majority of the growth and activity occurred.

3.4 Population Effects on Forsyth

3.4.1 Overall Population Change

Only limited data are available on the population change that occurred in Forsyth during the study period. The major population effects from the coal development activities were felt in Forsyth during the early 1970s, before the townsite expansion efforts in Colstrip caught up with the increasing influx of workers and their families. Nevertheless, the total increase in population in the town of Forsyth and its environs was only moderate. As shown in Table 3-3 and Figure 3-1, the population of Forsyth rose from 1,873 in 1970 to about 2,700 in the mid-1970s (corresponding to the peak employment for Colstrip units 1 and 2 activities),[1] before declining to 2,553 in early 1980. This represented an increase of 60 percent over the five-year period, and 36 percent over the decade. According to community residents and information about housing starts, little growth had occurred during 1980 and 1981 despite the increased activity on Colstrip units 3 and 4. This is generally explained by the success of Montana Power Corporation's efforts to provide worker housing in Colstrip during the build-up of the work force for units 3 and 4.

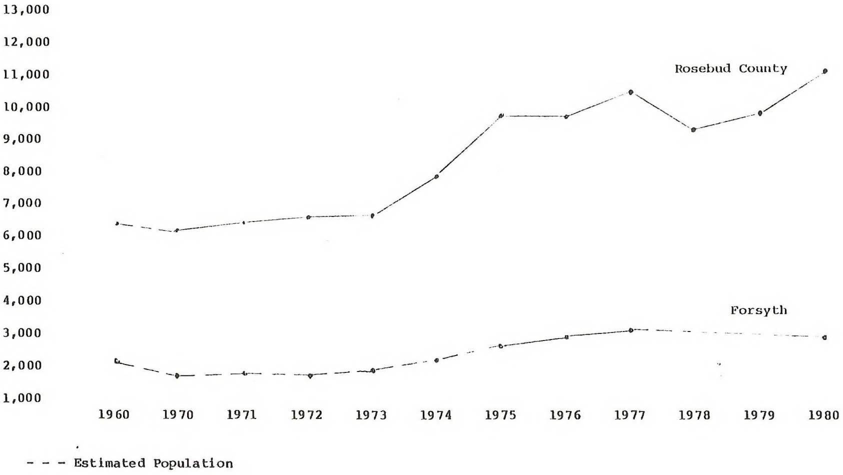
In 1975, the year of peak employment on Colstrip units 1 and 2, a survey of community residents was conducted by Mountain West Research to obtain information about the effects of development on Forsyth residents.

---

[1] Population estimates vary substantially. A survey conducted in Forsyth in 1975 recorded 930 households and estimated the population at between 3,000 and 3,300 (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975). Using the higher figure gives an increase of 76.2 percent in five years.

FIGURE 3-1

Population Trends
Forsyth and Rosebud County



Source: Mountain West Research, Inc., 1981.

TABLE 3-3

Population Estimates
Rosebud County

Year	Forsyth	Colstrip	Ashland	County Total
1960	2,032			6,187
1965				
1970	1,873	200		6,032[a]
1971				6,200[a]
1972				6,235[a]
1973	1,934[c]			6,845[a]
1974				8,000[a]
1975	2,396[c]	3,000		9,700[a]
1976	2,496[c]	2,800		9,600[a]
1977	2,661[c]			10,503[a]
1978		1,850		8,700[a]
1979				9,700[a]
1980	2,553	3,750	400	11,278[b]

Source: Mountain West Research, Inc. based on U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 advance Reports Census of Population and Housing, Montana, Washington, D.C.; 1970 Census of Population, Montana Part A, Washington , D.C.; Mountain West Research, Inc. Construction Worker Profile, Community Report, Old West Regional Commission, Billings, Montana, 1975.

[a] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25 and P-26, Yearly.

[b] Mountain West Research, Inc. estimate to account for under enumeration of residents in temporary housing.

[c] Eldon Rice, Rosebud County Planner, personal communication, 1981.

It was found that 71.6 percent of all community residents in 1975 were longtime residents, 18.3 percent were newcomers in households associated with construction workers, and 10.1 percent were other newcomers (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:33). Based on a total population of 2,396, these data indicate that approximately 483 residents were associated with construction worker households and 242 were members of other newcomer households.[1] Mountain West Research's survey provided specific data to compare characteristics of the three population groups: longtime residents, construction-related newcomers, and other newcomers.[2] Economic/demographic analyses conducted for energy projects proposed for Rosebud County have demonstrated that almost the entire growth in the white population of Rosebud County since 1969 can be attributed directly or indirectly to energy development, and that without such development, the population of the county, and of Forsyth, would have continued to decline.[3]

3.4.2 Age

In 1970, the population of Rosebud County, with a median age of 26.2, was younger than the population of Montana and the United States. The median age for Montana and the United States was 27.0 and 28.1 years, respectively. In 1970, 42.4 percent of Rosebud County's population was under 20, compared to 40.1 percent for the state and 37.8 percent for the United States. Of the county's population, 10.2 percent was older than 65, compared with 9.9 percent of both Montana's and the United States' population. With the influx of working age adults and their families during the 1970s, particularly in Colstrip, the percentage over 65 years of age had fallen to only 4.8 percent of Rosebud's population by 1980. The working-age cohorts -- between 16 and 64 years -- more than doubled their 1970 population during this decade. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of males aged 16 to 24 years grew by an average annual rate of 18.9 percent, while the number of males aged 25 to 44 years grew by a rate of 14 percent.

---

[1] Mountain West Research's 1975 survey estimated Forsyth population at between 3,000 and 3,250, which increases these figures to 549 and 303, respectively.

[2] The interested reader is referred to Mountain West Research's series of reports which provides extensive data on worker and newcomer characteristics.

[3] The larger part of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation is located in Rosebud County, although few Native Americans are residents of Forsyth. In 1970, 30.3 percent of the county's population of 1,829 persons was nonwhite. By 1976, the nonwhite population had grown 17 percent to 2,135 persons (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1976); by 1980, the nonwhite population had increased an additional 14 percent to 2,433 persons (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980). Between 1970 and 1980, the average annual growth rate for the nonwhite population was 3.3 percent. In contrast, the average annual growth rate for the county's white population was 10.4 percent. However, the nonwhite increase was due largely to natural increase, while the white increase was due largely to employment-related in-migration.

This increase is due not only to in-migration of new workers, but also to a large number of local people (especially high school graduates) who stayed in the area to work at construction, mining, and utilities jobs rather than out-migrating. Age distribution of Rosebud County's population varies significantly by race. In 1980, 50 percent of the nonwhite population was less than 18 years old; in contrast, only 21 percent of the white population was under 18 years. While almost 74 percent of the white population was in the working-age cohort -- between 18 and 64 years -- only 47 percent of the nonwhite population was in the working age cohort (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980; Mountain West Research, Inc. 1981).

As shown in Table 3-4, according to the 1975 survey in Forsyth, the newcomers to Forsyth during the construction of units 1 and 2 were concentrated in the 20-44 age category, with proportionately fewer in the 15-19 and 44-65+ categories than the existing population. These data showed no significant difference in the percentage of newcomers and longtime residents under age 15, and interestingly, found that 7.7 percent of the "other newcomers" were in the 55-65+ age category (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:39). These older newcomers were mainly farmers and ranchers who had retired and chosen to move into town.

TABLE 3-4

Age Distribution
Forsyth and the United States

Age Categories	Percentage of Residents				
	Forsyth				United[b] States
	Longtime Residents	Newcomer Construction Workers	Other Newcomers	Total[a] Population	
Under 15	29.1	30.7	26.9	29.2	28.4
15-19	11.7	6.3	8.7	10.4	9.4
20-24	7.5	14.3	15.4	9.6	8.1
25-30	9.8	24.9	28.8	14.5	12.2
35-44	12.1	13.8	10.6	12.3	11.4
45-54	7.5	6.9	1.9	6.8	11.5
55-64	11.7	2.1	2.9	9.0	9.1
65 or over	10.6	1.1	4.8	8.3	9.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Mountain West Research, Inc., 1975:39.

[a] Figures for the total population are weighted using the proportions of the total population actually formed by the three subpopulations determined in Phase I sampling.

[b] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population, United States Summary* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 1-263.

3.4.3 Education

In 1970, 46.5 percent of the Rosebud County population 25 years and older had attained high school graduation or more, a proportion considerably lower than in the state (59.1) and somewhat below the nation (52.4). These relationships were consistent with those in 1960.

As shown in Table 3-5, household heads and spouses who were longtime residents were more likely than either newcomer construction workers or other newcomers to have less than a high school education, but a higher percentage of longtime residents had some education beyond high school. Household heads and spouses who were other newcomer households had the highest educational attainment. These data are particularly pertinent when compared to income and occupational characteristics.

3.4.4 Origin of Newcomers

According to the 1975 survey, over 63 percent of the newcomers present in Forsyth in 1975 were from other places in Montana, with an additional 7 percent coming from contiguous states (Wyoming, North Dakota, and Idaho). A majority of the newcomers had lived at their previous residence for six years or more, with 34 percent living at their previous residence for ten years or longer.

Commitment to continued residence in the community differed dramatically between longtime residents (81.4 percent of whom planned to settle permanently in Forsyth), newcomer construction workers (84.4 percent of whom planned to stay as long as work was available), and other newcomers (33.3 percent of whom planned to settle permanently, 33.3 percent planned to stay as long as work was available, and 20.5 percent were uncertain) (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:51-52).

3.4.4 Occupation and Labor force Participation

In 1970, the labor force in Rosebud County was 2,690, and according to the Montana Department of Labor and Industry, unemployment was low -- 3.1 percent or 84 people. The size of the labor force in Rosebud County

TABLE 3-5

Educational Attainments
Forsyth, Montana, and the United States

Highest Educational Level Completed	Percentage of Residents				
	Forsyth			Montana	United States
	Longtime Residents	Newcomer Construction Workers	Other Newcomers		
Less than High School Graduation	25.8	15.5	20.0	40.8	47.7
High School Graduate	46.4	66.4	42.9	34.0	31.1
Some College	15.2	11.2	21.4	14.1	10.6
College Graduate	5.3	2.6	8.6	6.9	6.1
Some Graduate School	4.6	-	2.9	4.1	4.6
Advanced Degree	2.0	-	1.4		
Vo-Tech School	0.7	4.3	2.9	-	-
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population, United States Summary, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p. 1-493, 1-494. Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:41.

Note: Educational attainments for household heads and spouses are included for Forsyth. Data for the United States and for Montana were reported for persons 25 and over. Because of the method of data analysis for the Household Survey, it was not possible to present data for persons 25 and over only. Some household heads and spouses were under 25, but none listed his/her occupation as "student;" of the procedure of including only heads and spouses in this analysis, some household members over 25 (5 persons) were left out of the Forsyth educational attainment data presented here.

Note: Totals may not add to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

grew dramatically during the 1970-75 period, rising to 5,100 in 1975. The size of the labor force then declined because construction on Colstrip 1 and 2 was completed and work on units 3 and 4 was delayed and unemployment increased. Unemployment reached 6.9 percent in 1977, the only year of the decade when the unemployment rate for Rosebud County exceeded that of the state. No information is available for Forsyth separately, but the 1975 survey found no respondents unemployed (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:42).

The principal occupations in Rosebud County before impact were farmers and farm workers (16.3 percent in 1960 and 22.2 percent in 1970), service (11.5 and 17.2 percent in 1960 and 1970, respectively), and clerical (10.3 and 13.6 percent). The 1970 occupational distribution for Rosebud County did not differ greatly from that for Montana as a whole. The county had fewer professionals, sales workers, and craftsmen; it had more farmers, farm workers, and service workers. Since 1970, the county has experienced significant structural change in its economy, and it is expected that the 1980 U.S. Census will show a higher distribution for professionals, craftsman, and operatives. In 1970, women in Rosebud County had a much higher labor force participation rate (43.0 percent) than in 1960 (28.9 percent).

In Forsyth in 1975, the presence of energy-related employment was evident in the occupations of heads of household, especially that of newcomers. As shown in Table 3-6, 15.9 percent of the heads of longtime residents households and 64.5 percent of the heads of newcomer households were employed in construction related occupations. It should be noted that even in construction-related employment (but especially in nonconstruction employment,) the longtime residents were more likely to hold professional or managerial positions (2.3 percent compared to 1.0 percent in construction employment and 28.5 percent compared to 8.9 percent in nonconstruction employment). Although longtime household heads were by far more frequently of retirement age (29.5 percent) than

TABLE 3-6

Occupations of Household Heads
Forsyth, Montana

Occupation Category	Percentage of Household Heads	
	Longtime Residents	Newcomers[a]
Construction Employment	15.9	64.5
Professional, technical, kindred	2.3	1.0
Supervisory	-	2.0
Craftsmen and kindred	5.7	32.2
Operatives, except transport	4.5	4.1
Transport equipment operatives	-	3.0
Laborers	3.4	22.2
Nonconstruction Employment	84.1	35.6
Professional, technical, kindred	20.5	6.2
Managerial	8.0	2.7
Sales	4.5	-
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred	1.1	3.6
Clerical and kindred	4.5	4.4
Operatives, except transport	2.3	-
Transport equipment operatives	-	2.7
Laborers except farm	3.4	5.3
Farmers, farm foremen, laborers	2.3	-
Service, except private household	8.0	8.0
Retired	29.5	2.7
TOTAL[b]	100.0	100.0

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics: Montana, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971, p. 28-238. Mountain West Research, Inc., 1975:43.

[a] Figures for newcomers are weighted according to the actual proportions of that group formed by "newcomer construction workers" and "other newcomers," determined in Phase I of the sampling procedure.

[b] Totals may not add to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

newcomer household heads (2.7 percent), in-migration of retirees was found to have occurred during the impact period.[1]

The 1975 Forsyth survey also found that adult longtime resident females had a higher labor force participation rate than newcomer females: 28.6 percent of the longtime resident spouses worked compared to 7.7 percent of the newcomer construction worker spouses and 17 percent of the other newcomer spouses. Tables 3-7 and 3-8 show the occupational characteristics of the employed spouses. Again, longtime residents were more highly represented in professional and managerial occupations than were newcomers.

3.5 Employment and Income

3.5.1 Employment

Between 1970 and 1980, Rosebud County was the site of the construction and operation of the Rosebud Mine and Colstrip units 1 and 2 in Colstrip, the Big Sky Mine south of Colstrip, and coal-related rail construction in Forsyth. During the decade, mining employment grew from 5 to 473 workers and employment in the transportation, communications, and public utilities rose from 151 to 480 workers. In 1980, the construction of Colstrip units 3 and 4 began in earnest. Mainly due to that project -- scheduled to reach peak construction in 1983 and to be fully operational in 1986 -- county employment in construction stood at 1,121 workers in 1980.

Employment by sector between 1967 and 1979 for Rosebud County is shown in Table 3-9. Energy development profoundly affected the balance of Rosebud County's economy between 1970 and 1980. The effect of energy development on the support sectors is significant. Government employment increased 216 percent between 1970 and 1980. Employment in other important service sectors -- trade, FIRE, and services -- grew 48 percent during the decade.

---

[1] This may indicate something about the adverse impacts on elderly. It seems unlikely that 23 retiring households would have chosen to move into a town if conditions were notably adverse.

TABLE 3-7

Occupations of Spouses
Forsyth, Montana

Occupation	Percentage of Working Spouses	
	Long Time Residents	Newcomers
Professional, technical, kindred	27.8	22.2
Managerial	11.1	-
Clerical	27.8	44.4
Service workers	33.3	33.3
TOTAL[a]	100.0	100.0

Sources: Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:46.

[a] Totals may not add to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

TABLE 3-8

Industry of Employed Spouses
Forsyth, Montana

Industry	Percentage of Working Spouses	
	Longtime Residents	All Newcomers
Retail trade	38.9	33.3
Personal services	16.7	33.3
Health and recreation	5.6	-
Professional, educational service	27.8	33.3
Public administration	11.1	-
TOTAL[a]	100.0	100.0

Source: Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:46.

[a] Totals may not add to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

TABLE 3-9

Employment by Industry by Place of Work
Rosebud County

Industrial Sector	Percent 1967	1970	1972	1975	1977	1979
Proprietors: Farm	16.6	16.6	13.1	7.1	8.4	7.1
Nonfarm	6.8	9.1	7.4	6.7	8.9	8.3
Wage and Salary Emp.	76.6	74.4	79.6	86.2	82.7	84.6
Farm	12.3	10.8	10.2	5.6	5.2	6.1
Agriculture Services	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.8	0.7
Mining	0.5	1.7	3.6	7.8	9.8	8.8
Construction	1.5	1.2	1.3	26.8	8.4	6.3
Manufacturing	6.5	8.5	9.1	3.2	1.3	5.0
TCPU	7.3	7.3	6.6	4.2	5.9	5.7
Wholesale Trade	0.6	.4	0.7	.5	.5	0.6
Retail Trade	8.8	8.1	8.5	7.7	8.4	9.1
FIRE	0.9	.8	1.3	1.0	1.5	1.5
Services	18.9	15.5	19.4	16.0	24.3	23.6
Government	18.7	19.4	18.5	13.2	16.5	17.3
TOTAL	100.0 (2,583)	100.0 (2,517)	100.0 (2,926)	100.0 (5,049)	100.0 (4,115)	100.0 (4,457)

Source: USDC, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Employment by type and Broad Industrial Sources, 1967-1979, April 1981, Washington, D.C.

Note: TCPU = Transportation, Communications & Public Utilities
FIRE = Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate

Table 3-9 shows the evolution of Rosebud County's economy during the 1970s. In 1970, little energy development had occurred. In 1975, the construction of Colstrip units 1 and 2 was at its peak. In 1979, the construction of Colstrip units 3 and 4 had just begun. Farm proprietors declined by about 13 percent both in the first and second halves of the decade. Farm labor continued its decline throughout the decade, indicating that continued employment and population decline would likely have occurred in the absence of the energy projects. Mining employment increased dramatically from 1970 to 1975 and then stabilized. Construction employment showed the effects of Colstrip units 1 and 2, reaching a peak in 1975. Manufacturing mainly reflected the sawmills near Ashland, which fluctuated during the decade. TCPU employment showed steady growth from utilities and rail. Wholesale trade increased, but was a minor sector due to the county's proximity to the larger trade centers of Billings and Miles City. Retail trade employment doubled, and FIRE employment tripled during the decade. Services employment -- due to induced growth from other sectors as well as from the Northern Cheyenne Reservation and associated services -- doubled between 1970 and 1975 and then grew by another 30 percent between 1975 and 1979. Nonfarm proprietors and government employment grew by 150 percent during the decade. Interestingly, the percentage of employment in nonfarm proprietorships increased during the impact period from 6.8 percent in 1967 to 8.3 percent in 1979. As can be seen from the above data, most employment sectors showed growth during the period of impact.

According to analyses conducted by Mountain West Research, 66 percent of total employment was basic in 1980, a figure which is inflated due to the construction of Colstrip units 3 and 4. Mining and TCPU accounted for 27 percent of basic employment; construction for 32 percent; agriculture for 16 percent; trade, services, and government for 21 percent; and manufacturing for 3.5 percent. Only 34 percent of Rosebud County's employment in 1980 was nonbasic. While this percentage is relatively small because of the large number of construction workers, it also reflects the county's relatively low position in the regional trade center hierarchy. Forsyth is the county's major trade center, and is the site for both primary and most secondary purchases from an area which extends south to approximately Colstrip. Colstrip,[1] Lame Deer, and Ashland are minor trade centers that capture primary purchases in the southern part of the county. For secondary purchases, residents of the southern half of the county travel to Billings and Hardin, (Montana) and to Sheridan (Wyoming).

The per worker wage rate by industrial sector in Rosebud County increased significantly in all industrial sectors except agriculture (which declined 51.4 percent) between 1967 and 1979. Per worker wages in the mining sector increased 234.1 percent; construction wages increased 195.1 percent; service wages, 177.8 percent, and TCPU, 169.0 percent. Trade and FIRE sectors increased 88.6 and 88.9 percent, respectively, the smallest increases of all nonagricultural sectors. The average per worker wage rate in Rosebud County increased 194.1 percent between 1967 and 1979.

For the state of Montana, the total per worker wage rate increased 120.2 percent during the period. Wages in agriculture, the only sector to decline, fell 45.8 percent. Statewide, the mining sector increased 208.1 percent; TCPU, 168.3 percent; manufacturing, 150.7 percent; and government, 144.8 percent. The smallest increases occurred in the trade and FIRE sectors -- 92.0 percent and 91.0 percent, respectively. These data indicate little inflationary effect on wages in the trade or service sectors in the energy growth area of Montana and indicate a greater decline (rather than an increase) in agricultural wages in the energy area compared to the state as a whole.

The 1975 survey showed distinct differences in the distribution of annual household incomes between longtime residents, newcomer construction workers, and other newcomers (Table 3-10). As noted in the report, the median annual income for newcomer construction workers was

---

[1] Due to policy decisions by Montana Power about land development, Colstrip's commercial sector is currently much smaller than its potential.

TABLE 3-10

Annual Household Income
Forsyth and the United States
Percentage of Households

Income Category	Forsyth: Longtime Residents	Forsyth: Newcomer Construction Workers	Forsyth: Other Newcomers	Forsyth: Total[b]	United States
Less than $4,000	18.1	-	5.0	13.5	17.5
$4,000 - $5,999	6.8	-	5.0	5.4	10.4
$6,000 - $7,999	6.8	-	12.5	6.1	9.9
$8,000 - $9,999	8.0	9.4	17.5	9.2	9.7
$10,000 - $11,999	19.3	15.6	17.5	18.4	9.7
$12,000 - $14,999[a]	15.9	20.3	10.0	16.1	12.9
$15,000 - $24,999[a]	22.7	53.2	32.5	29.3	22.1
$25,000 and over[a]	2.3	1.6	-	1.9	7.8
TOTAL[b]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Consumer Income: Household Money Income inf 1973 and Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of Households (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 14. Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:48.

Note: Figures for the total population are weighted using the proportions of the total population actually formed by the three subpopulations determined in Phase I of the sampling procedure.

[a] Income data for the Household Survey were collected for $2,000 intervals. These categories do not match published U.S. Census income categories exactly. The $12,000-$14,999 category is a census category which corresponds to the $12,000-$13,999 category in the Household Survey. The $15,000-$24,999 category is a census category which corresponds to five household survey categories including incomes between $14,000 and $23,999. The $25,000 and over category is a census category which corresponds to nine household survey categories including incomes of $24,000 and over.

[b] Totals may not add to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

much lower in Forsyth than in any of the other communities that were surveyed. As seen in Table 3-11, the median annual household income of longtime residents was very similar to that of other newcomers ($11,059 compared to $11,142), both of which were substantially below that of newcomer construction workers ($14,429). These tables also show that a significantly lower proportion of newcomer construction households had incomes below $12,000 (25.0 percent) than did longtime residents (59.0 percent) or other newcomers (57.5 percent). On the other hand, longtime residents had a higher percentage of households with incomes over $25,000 (2.3 percent) than did newcomer construction households (1.6 percent) or other newcomers (0.0 percent). Overall, the effect of the newcomers was to decrease the percentage of community households with income below $12,000 (52.6 percent compared to 59.0 percent) and above $25,000 (1.9 percent compared to 2.3 percent) and to increase the proportion in the 12,000 to 25,000 category (45.4 percent compared to 38.6 percent).

3.6 Businesses and Voluntary Associations

The number and types of businesses present in Forsyth increased somewhat over the period between 1970 and 1980. By 1980, Forsyth was well represented by churches (11 denominations/subdenominations were represented) along with a number of service and social associations. Overall, however, the commercial sector of the community did not expand greatly during the study period.

3.7 Expenditure Patterns and Inflation

The expenditure patterns of households can determine the distribution of inflationary effects among community residents. The data from the 1975 household survey indicated that longtime residents spent substantially less on housing and utilities ($113.60 per month) than did other newcomers ($147.00 per month) or construction-related newcomers ($184.56 per month). These data indicate that longtime residents on the average were paying a slightly lower percentage of their annual household income for housing than were the newcomers.

TABLE 3-11

Median Annual Household Income
Forsyth and the United States

Group		Median Income
Forsyth:	Longtime Residents	$11,059
	Newcomer Construction Workers	14,429
	Other Newcomers	11,142
United States		10,512

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Consumer Income: Household Money Income inf 1973 and Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of Households (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 1. Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:47.

A majority of respondents to the 1975 survey owned or were buying their own homes. As shown in tables 3-12 and 3-13, longtime residents were very likely to own their own homes (89.8 percent) and to live in a single family dwelling (81.5 percent). Almost 50 percent of the newcomer construction worker households lived in mobile homes, compared to 35 percent of other newcomers and 15 percent of longtime residents. (It is important to note that not only newcomers but longtime residents as well were living in mobile homes) (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:58).[1]

A market basket survey was conducted in Forsyth in the fall of 1982 when work was well under way on Colstrip units 3 and 4. Overall, the prices of groceries at stores in Forsyth were only a little higher than those in Billings, Montana at the same time.

3.8 Facilities and Services

Community services in Forsyth at the start of the study period were limited. Unlike many small towns in the semiarid mountain West, Forsyth had an adequate supply of water because it was located on the Yellowstone River. Consequently, although its treatment and storage system were seriously inadequate even for the existing population, and it needed replacement and expansion, the town did not face the expensive problem of attaining additional water rights or drilling more wells. Similarly, the town's sewage system was adequate only for a population of 800 people, with the result that even prior to development, the system was substantially over capacity. By 1975, a consulting firm had been contracted to prepare a study of the system. The town had difficulty acquiring title to the land that was adjacent to the existing lagoon, causing delay in community response.

Rosebud County and Forsyth maintained a joint city-county law enforcement program in which the sheriff's department provided service

---

[1] The survey found that more than 75 percent of the longtime residents and construction-related newcomers were satisfied with their housing.

TABLE 3-12

Home Ownership
Forsyth Residents

Group	Percentage of Households		
	Own	Rent	Total
Longtime Residents	89.8	10.2	100.0
Newcomer Construction Workers	54.7	45.3	100.0
Other Newcomers	47.5	52.5	100.0

Source: Mountain West Research, Inc., 1981.

TABLE 3-13

Type of Dwelling Lived in Forsyth Residents

Dwelling Type		Percentage of Households		
		Longtime Residents	Newcomer Construction Workers	Other Newcomers
Single Family:	2 bedrooms	33.3	11.1	20.0
	3 bedrooms	28.7	17.5	15.0
	4 bedrooms	10.3	1.6	-
	5 bedrooms	2.3	-	-
	Other	6.9	3.2	7.5
Apartment		2.3	7.9	15.0
Mobile Home		14.9	49.2	35.0
Other		1.1	9.5	7.5
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Mountain West Research, Inc., 1981.

Note: Totals may not add to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

to Forsyth as well as all other areas in the county. In 1970, the sheriff's department had a sheriff and four deputies. By 1975, this had increased to a sheriff, an undersheriff, and twenty-one deputies but was still not considered adequate to cover the 5,607 square mile area with a population of about 10,000 people. Between 1975 and 1980, the department added seventeen deputies, a jailer, and twenty civilian employees.

Forsyth is located in School District No. 4 of Rosebud County. In Montana, schools are generally not consolidated. District No. 4 served an area of about 2,000 square miles with a population of about 4,000 people in 1975. In that year, the district had one elementary school, one junior high, and one high school, all located in Forsyth, and these schools were almost at peak population. The student/teacher ratios were 15.9 students per teacher in the junior and senior high schools and 15.5 students per teacher in the elementary school, but facilities were limited. Coal board assistance was used to build a new elementary school and a junior high school, plus make some additions and improvements to the high school.

A new eighteen-bed hospital was built in Forsyth in 1973. It serves all of Rosebud and Treasure counties. In 1975, the hospital staff was comprised of two doctors and ten nurses, most of whom were part-time. In addition, the hospital had three consultant physicians who came to Forsyth once a month; but nevertheless, the shortage of doctors had severely restricted the utility of the hospital.

A city-county planning board was established in 1972 to specifically address issues of zoning and land use planning. The city of Forsyth had zoning ordinances which previously had been only partially enforced. During 1972-74, more attention was paid to the utilization of such regulations for controlling growth, particularly the rapid expansion of mobile home units.

Generally, both longtime and newcomer residents of Forsyth in 1975 indicated that population growth had created or increased problems with facilities and services. Table 3-14 shows the responses made in 1975 to questions about satisfaction with services. The study found less difference in the attitudes of longtime and newcomer residents in Forsyth than in most other currently impacted communities in the study (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:55).

This rather extensive description of Forsyth and Rosebud County during the impact period is presented in order to illustrate the types and magnitudes of impacts than can be expected. As can be discerned from the data, the newcomer population can make for extensive changes in the social and demographic structure of a community. This did occur in the county as a whole. In Forsyth, impact was less drastic. This was due to the following:

1) Mitigation by MPC in the Colstrip area
2) Temporary nature of Forsyth newcomers
3) Homogeneity of newcomers and longtime residents

TABLE 3-14

Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with Community Facilities
Forsyth Residents

Service		Percentage of Residents		
		Longtime Residents	Newcomer Construction Workers	Other Newcomers
Law Enforcement:	Satisfied	72.8	71.9	70.0
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)[a]	18.2	25.0	25.0
Fire Protection:	Satisfied	90.9	86.0	77.5
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	1.1	6.3	2.5
Water:	Satisfied	61.3	73.4	72.5
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	36.3	26.6	25.0
Sewer:	Satisfied	69.3	87.3	92.5
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	27.2	12.7	2.5
Garbage Collection:	Satisfied	96.6	93.7	95.0
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	3.4	3.0	2.5
Streets and Roads:	Satisfied	13.6	46.9	32.5
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	78.4	51.5	67.5
Medical Services:	Satisfied	17.1	21.9	27.5
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	79.5	65.6	60.0
Entertainment:	Satisfied	50.0	31.3	60.0
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	45.4	68.8	40.0
Shopping Facilities:	Satisfied	71.6	46.9	52.5
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	26.1	48.4	45.0

TABLE 3-14 (cont.)

Service		Percentage of Residents		
		Long Time Residents	Newcomer Construction Workers	Other Newcomers
Schools:	Satisfied	60.9	50.0	47.5
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	21.8	-	12.5
Housing Availability:	Satisfied	14.9	14.1	20.0
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	72.4	81.3	80.0
Housing Quality:	Satisfied	37.9	28.1	25.0
	Dissatisfied (or No Service)	36.8	61.0	70.0

Source: Mountain West Research, Inc., 1975:56.

Note: The category "no service" was included with "dissatisfied" because frequently the respondent indicated there was no service for a cateogry when in f that service was provided. It was felt that this was a measure of dissatisfactio in those cases because the service would have to be fairly poor for the respondent not to know it was being provided.

Note: Totals of "satisfied" and "dissatisfied" categories will not usually add to 100.0 percent because some respondents answered "uncertain," and those percentages are not included in this table.

4. DIFFERENTIATION

4. DIFFERENTIATION

4.1 Introduction

Differentiation is the systematic process by which roles become distributed in the social structure (see the Ashland report for a fuller discussion). The concern in this section is how the political and social roles in the community of Forsyth are distributed. In economic differentiation, the focus is on the dispersion of economic activities.

4.2 Political Differentiation

The discussion of political differentiation and the distribution of political roles in the community will be restricted to formal positions.

4.2.1 Local Structure

The rather moderate population and economic increases that occurred in Forsyth during the 1970s (see Section 3.4) did not result in any major changes in the political structure of the town, although the anticipation of growth did prompt the formation of a city-county planning board. The city council and mayor of Forsyth continued to be drawn from longtime residents of the community. The mayor of Forsyth during much of the impact period, Gene Tuma, had been on the city council previous to his election. The mayor at the time of the study had also previously served on the city council. Throughout the study period, the political leadership for the town came from the same sectors of the community as before. In essence, no basic change in political leadership in Forsyth occurred over the study period.

There was, however, some increase in political differentiation. This occurred primarily with the creation of the planning board. The planning board was established by the county commissioners in late 1973. Its first meeting was held in January 1974. The purpose of the planning board was to advise the city council and county commissioners on city-county planning problems. These included plans for subdivisions, and zoning, etc. focused primarily on controlling growth. There were eight people on the planning board, four appointed by the county commissioners and four by the Forsyth city council. Eldon Rice, who was the County Extension Agent in 1973, was asked to be planning coordinator. The membership of the planning board was made up of both townspeople and ranchers.

During the impact period, there was an increase in the number of contacts between the Forsyth City Council and the Rosebud County Commissioners, and the nature of the contacts changed, becoming mostly requests for financial assistance in completing projects. The county commissioners were as helpful as they legally could be.[1] Prior to development, the city and county did consolidate the county sheriff and Forsyth Police Departments into a single organizational unit. This action was cited as one of the more effective and innovative approaches to law enforcement problems in the region.

Aside from this, the Forsyth city government did not change its structure or complexity during the 1969-81 period. The city council was not expanded, the form of city government was not changed, and few new employees (in kinds of positions) were hired. There is no evidence that any such actions were considered. One speculation made prior to the research was that as the population, political sophistication, and infrastructure of Colstrip expanded, residents of Forsyth would feel that their position of leadership in the county was threatened. According to interviews in 1981, residents of Forsyth did not then perceive Colstrip as reaching a point of competition for this role. However, as Colstrip matures, especially if it incorporates (which it almost certainly will), obtains an airport (it has initiated a study), and the access road is improved, it appears likely that Forsyth residents will feel they are in danger of losing this status.

---

[1] Montana law circumscribes the degree to which city and county government can work together. Montana's joint powers legislation, which allows political interaction between city and county, has almost never been employed, indicating either a problem with the implementability of the law or a reluctance of the part of city and county governments.

It was clear at the time of the study that Forsyth's role as county seat had been important in ensuring Forsyth's participation, inclusion, and prominence in county plans and programs. This prominence was instrumental in increasing the coordination and cooperation between the city and the county for reducing differentiation that might have proved counterproductive for county-wide planning and administrative efforts.

4.3 Economic Differentiation

Colstrip, rather than Forsyth, was the center of the employment changes brought about by the energy development. Essentially, no major changes occurred in the economic structure of Forsyth during the study period.

Because of the increase in business activity in the existing businesses, there were some local increases in employment opportunities, but the majority of the differentiation of employment occurred outside Forsyth, in Colstrip, bringing persons of more diverse occupational and employment characteristics to the community while not actually increasing the differentiation of employment in Forsyth (see tables 3-8, 3-9, and 3-11).

During the intense impact period (1973-75), there were no new businesses established in Forsyth. As stated above, most of the business activity was in the direction of expansion of existing businesses. In anticipation of Colstrip units 3 and 4, several new motels were constructed in Forsyth, in addition to a new (and fancy) restaurant, two small businesses, a Radio Shack, and fabric store. Because of the decline in population following completion of units 1 and 2 and the lack of significant new in-migration to Forsyth because of units 3 and 4, by 1981, the motels were not doing well, the restaurant was closed and up for sale, and the two small businesses were closed. Forsyth, then, appeared to experience little, if any real or meaningful differentiation in its economic sector as a result of the energy development, although there was expansion in the government, health and other support sectors due to Forsyth's role as county seat and medical center for the increased county population.

Some increase in employment in Forsyth did occur during the peak construction period of units 1 and 2. The most marked employment increases occurred in the police force and school. The police force increased in size and complexity. Not only were new positions created (for example, a detective was hired), but people were hired from outside the local area. In 1970, prior to the consolidation of city and county police units, the police department had four people. In 1981, it had a staff of 41. However, there were no plans to increase staff due to units 3 and 4; the new units had been taken into consideration when earlier increases in staff were made.

The schools were particularly hard hit by the population increases due to units 1 and 2. Projected school enrollment in 1975 was 450 students; actual enrollment was 750. To meet this additional demand, 15 to 20 new teachers were required. Most of the new teachers were recruited from Eastern Montana College in Billings (100 mile away), but teachers were recruited statewide, also. School officials felt that the lack of information about student enrollment increases prevented them from recruiting new staff on a timely basis. Late recruitment also meant that the school district was often forced to hire less qualified teachers.

4.4 Social Differentiation

4.4.1 Introduction

It is difficult to state exactly the demographic changes that took place during the study period, particularly with units 1 and 2, although some indications were made in Chapter 3 of this report utilizing the 1975 survey data. This is because most of the changes occurred between the 1970 and 1980 census, the only really detailed source of demographic information.

Perhaps the biggest change was that the people moving into Forsyth had little intention of staying there past their employment, and employment was known to be temporary. As discussed in Chapter 3, this constituted a major change from the previously dominant residential permanence. In addition, the struggle between Forsyth residents who favored and supported growth and the ranchers who opposed it increased the polarization of these two groups, although the difference in opinion had existed previously.

4.4.2 Activities/Lifestyles

Conflicts between longtime residents and newcomers appear to have resulted as much from similarities in lifestyle and activities (which brought the groups into contact) as from differences in them. Respondents in 1981 noted that the most heartfelt clashes occurred over the use and social "ownership" of local bars and restaurants. As newcomers began to frequent the bars and restaurants in Forsyth, longtime residents began to stay away. Although this was a voluntary decision by longtime residents in response to their own reaction to the presence of newcomers, many longtime residents complained that they felt forced out of their own territory.

4.4.3 Social Groupings and Group Relationships

The newcomers obviously increased the differentiation of Forsyth. However, because of their rapid in-migration and short length of stay in the community, no permanent alteration of the existing social grouping occurred. According to the 1975 data and interviews with residents in 1981, the longtime residents and newcomers did form extensive associations. According to one respondent, the longtime residents had a philosophy that if approached by newcomers, they would help them in the community, but longtime residents would not approach newcomers. Because of this philosophy, there was not a great deal of interaction between the two groups. Nevertheless, according to the 1975 survey, longtime

Forsyth residents were generally viewed by newcomers as friendly, and Forsyth was considered a friendly town (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975).

According to the results of the 1975 survey, longtime residents generally felt that the effects of energy development were the same as they had expected (53.4 percent), while 20.5 percent felt the effects were better than anticipated (largely because of increased financial benefits), and 26.1 percent felt they were worse (largely because of inadequacy of community facilities and increased population). (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975:59.)

In 1975, at the time of peak impact, the majority of longtime residents (72.2 percent) said they were glad that the project had come to the area, although this response was less pronounced for lower income residents. The reasons given by the 27.8 percent of the longtime residents who were unhappy that the project had come focused primarily on inadequacy of community facilities, the arrival of undesirable people (6.3 percent of all longtime residents), and increased population.

The study conducted by the Institute for Social Science Research in 1974 noted the presence of well established informal social groupings and ties in Forsyth. This study concluded that, in 1974, residents of Forsyth intensified their already established relationships in an effort to keep their distance from the changes that were occurring and the newcomers that were arriving. In 1974, they found that for local housewives, coal was not a big topic of concern (ISSR 1974:113).

One area in which increased differentiation had an effect on social relations was in the police/sheriff's department. Prior to the impact period, police relations with the community were generally informal and personal. Many people would call on the county sheriff personally to handle their problems. When the increase in the size of the police department, the new personnel, and the new population required that more formal and impersonal approaches be employed, many longtime residents complained that the police would no longer give them the personal attention they felt they deserved. Also, the needs of longtime residents were increasingly lower in priority than the new demands being placed upon the police/sheriff's department by the influx of newcomers. This dissatisfaction with law enforcement services was evident in the 1975 survey (Mountain West Research, Inc.) and in 1981.

4.5 Summary

4.5.1 Relationship of Change to Energy Development

All the changes in Forsyth occurred because of the impacts of the Colstrip construction. Forsyth was subject to no other forces for change in these areas during the study period.

4.5.2 Consequences of Pre-project Characteristics and Change

Although the people and city government of Forsyth did not fully realize the extent of population influx due to Colstrip units 1 and 2 and overestimated population increases due to Colstrip units 3 and 4, there was strong support for the projects. There was a general feeling that the positive benefits would far outweigh the negative, so people were willing to put up with the negative impacts. Thus, the changes that occurred were accepted and correctly seen as temporary. However, it was evident in the 1974 ISSR study and in the 1975 Mountain West study that there was anxiety about the uncertain level and schedule of impacts, and that problems being experienced and handled without undue difficulty would escalate to unmanageable proportions (when, in fact, the 1974-75 period represented the period of worst impact, not a prelude).

4.5.2.1 Ability to Respond to and Control Growth

Forsyth was able to respond successfully to the growth. Two incidents that occurred during development of Colstrip units 1 and 2 illustrate this.

First, the city council passed an ordinance which prohibited mobile homes in the residential area of town. This action was required because the existing legislation allowed newcomers to park their trailers in the backyards of community residents. This placed additional strain on town facilities and was considered damaging to the residential quality of the town. Several people complained, so the ordinance prohibiting in-town mobile homes was passed. As a result, all the mobile homes were located in subdivisions on the outskirts of town, thus preventing Forsyth from haphazardly placing trailer courts. State legislation governing subdivision design was used to force the organization and planning of these new subdivisions.[1]

The second response that enabled the city to manage its growth was the action of the city council to raise the mill levy to the maximum level of sixty-five mills. The location of mobile home courts outside city limits, combined with the fact that the high value construction projects were located in unincorporated areas of the county meant that the actual valuation of Forsyth declined during the study period. Before Coal Board monies were available, the only options available to the city were to raise tax rates, collaborate with the county, and make do with existing facilities to the greatest extent possible, while casting about for outside assistance. The town exercised all of the above options.

The city council prided itself in its response to the impacts. Their philosophy was that energy development was good for Forsyth and that the impacts were necessary and could be handled. Given the generally poor and inadequate facilities present in the community prior to growth, and the generally low income level of Forsyth property owners, the city government and residents' response to the demands of growth indicate an appreciation of their long-term priorities and a willingness to take action to deal with the problems, even when it was at personal cost.

---

[1] One reason that housing was in such short supply in Forsyth was the demolition of a large residential section for construction of I-94.

4.5.2.2 Distribution of Effects

Without a doubt, of all the longtime residents, it was the merchants in Forsyth who benefited most from the Colstrip construction. Businesses that were on the verge of closing were saved and others expanded, especially in anticipation of Colstrip units 3 and 4.

However, businesses also bore the brunt of the increased tax rates imposed during the mid and late 1970s. These tax increases also affected other property owners, the majority of whom were longtime residents. However, there seems to have been sufficient consensus that the increased revenues were vital to community response and could serve to improve services for the entire community. Some tension arose between longtime residents and newcomers over the taxes, since the majority of newcomers were not property owners (though they would have preferred to have been) and thus did not contribute their share to the revenues. (Montana state law prohibits imposition of any local sales or excise taxes, thus severely limiting local options for raising revenues.)

4.5.2.3 Relationship between Residents and the Community

As stated above, the newcomers and longtime residents were consistently noted as not having much to do with each other. The newcomers were not inclined to establish strong ties to the community, first, because they lived primarily in trailer courts outside of town, and second, because they knew they would not be in the area for very long.

Because the basic structure of the community did not change with the impacts, there does not seem to have been a great loss of sense of community among longtime residents, although this appears to have been a concern during the first phase of the study period when the overall magnitude of the impact was uncertain.

5. STRATIFICATION

5. STRATIFICATION

5.1 Introduction

Basically, Forsyth was little more than a temporary "bedroom community" for Colstrip, especially during the construction of units 1 and 2 when the majority of the impacts occurred. As pointed out in the last chapter, there was very little change in differentiation in Forsyth. With so little long-term change in differentiation, it is reasonable to expect that there was very little change in stratification, and this was the case in the city of Forsyth. The major change was the further strengthening of the importance of nonagricultural interests at the county level, and the reduced influence of area ranchers who pitted themselves against development (and hence against the majority of Forsyth and county residents) in an effort to maintain their status.

5.2 Political Stratification

There was no fundamental change in political stratification.

5.2.1 Change in the Nature of Political Power

There were no significant changes in the nature of political power in Forsyth during the study period. Political power continued to reside in the same sectors of the community as before the study period. (Although the proportion of power held by ranchers declined, this occurred primarily at the county level and had less effect on Forsyth residents.) This occurred because almost all the newcomers to Forsyth showed little motivation to become involved in community political activities. Since they did not care to participate in community affairs, and the longtime residents were satisfied with the city government, there was little impetus for change. It is speculated that an important reason that the newcomers showed such little interest is that most managerial and operations workers were located in Colstrip (where newcomers were politically active), with few locating in Forsyth.

5.2.2 Access to Political Positions

Due to the circumstances described above, access to political positions continued to be limited to those who would have had access prior to development -- longtime residents of the community, generally members of the business community.

The newcomers who came into Forsyth generally moved into the trailer courts, which because of lack of area were located outside the city limits. They were thus not eligible to hold political positions in the city government even if they had been interested (which they apparently were not). Exclusion from public participation by newcomers was not noted as an issue in any of the available studies.

5.2.3 Access to Politically Controlled Resources

Again, and for the same reasons as above, there seems to have been no real change in this component of political stratification. There is no evidence that the newcomers were sytematically excluded from politically controlled resources, nor is there any evidence that they made any extraordinary demands on these resources. Data on human service provision and interviews with human service providers indicated that the problems experienced in Forsyth and Rosebud County were typical of those felt throughout the state. Location of various service agencies in Forsyth, a service center, probably made services relatively more available to all Forsyth residents than to residents of rural areas of the county.

Most of the decisions made by the city council were influenced by two goals. The first and less important goal was to handle the temporary impacts created by the Colstrip development. Second, and more importantly, the council wanted to use the impacts as a base to get Coal Board money that would be used to improve the community long after the impacts were over. The philosophy of the city council was to make as many long-term improvements in the community as possible.

5.3 Economic Stratification

As with political stratification, there was little basic change in economic stratification.

5.3.1 Change in the Nature of Economic Power

The biggest change in economic stratification was the reduction of the economic power of the ranchers and farmers living in the area surrounding Forsyth.

Prior to development, Forsyth was not doing well financially. Still, Forsyth merchants depended upon farmers and ranchers for much of their business. When the new population came into Forsyth, merchants redirected their emphasis from farmers and ranchers to construction workers and their families. In addition to those newcomers who lived in Forsyth, most of the people who lived in Colstrip shopped in Forsyth because there were initially no shipping facilities in Colstrip. The newcomers brought an economic revival to Forsyth and became the focus of attention.

5.3.2 Access to Business Positions

Although there seemed to be no restriction on access to business position, no real change was noted in the business structure of Forsyth. With the exception of two new motels and two small businesses which were welcomed into the community, there was little expansion. This growth occurred in Forsyth after Colstrip units 1 and 2 were completed, and because the impacts from units 3 and 4 have been minimal, the two small businesses did not prosper and eventually closed.

5.3.3 Access to Business-controlled Resources

Aside from the problems between old-timers and newcomers in the bars and restaurants noted earlier, newcomers did not appear to have experienced difficulty in obtaining access to business-controlled resources. The major shortage noted during the impact period was in residential property -- none was available.

There is little indication that aside from a moderate increase in congestion (traffic and people) local residents experienced any problems in obtaining access to business-controlled resources.

City officials reported having access to MPC decision-makers, though the intensity of the interactions was reduced by MPC's involvement and financial commitment to Colstrip. Nevertheless, MPC officials substantially altered city finances by establishing a pre-payment agreement ($750,000) with the city council for issuing the industrial revenue bonds for purchase of necessary pollution equipment for units 3 and 4.

5.4 Social Stratification

Because most newcomers resided in Forsyth for a short time, worked in Colstrip, and participated only marginally in Forsyth activities, they did not alter community stratification. In addition, as shown in Chapter 3, the majority of the newcomers did not represent a new social strata; they were primarily hourly workers (albeit at high wages). These new workers did, however, provide examples to local youth, particularly high school students. Energy-related jobs were available locally, and commanded high wages. Consequently, many young people chose to stay in Rosebud County and work at Colstrip, rather than outmigrate.

5.4.1 Change in Criteria for Prestige and Status

There was no substantial change in the criteria for prestige or status in Forsyth over the study period. Longtime residents with a pioneer heritage continued to have the high social status, and the remainder of the hierarchy generally kept their respective places. As noted by ISSR and the interviews for this study, Forsyth had been sufficiently influenced by the railroad industry and mining that ranchers had not established as dominant a role in Forsyth as in the county. Indeed, townspeople sometimes indicated resentment of the ranchers' superior attitude. Nevertheless, ranchers remained influential throughout the study period.

One of the criteria for prestige and status in Forsyth was commitment to the community.[1] Since newcomers did not have a long-term commitment, they were not viewed as socially important by the rest of the community. Most had few resources to contribute to community affairs, had few local social contacts, worked long hours, and generally were not in managerial or decision-making positions in businesses.

Newcomers and longtime residents really didn't have much to do with each other, although the 1975 survey showed differences between construction-related newcomers and others (nonbasic workers). The other newcomers appeared to form more local ties. The biggest change in relationships between groups came between the merchants and the ranchers and farmers.

Because the merchants supported the Colstrip development, albeit quietly, while the ranchers and farmers opposed it, and the merchants catered to construction workers and their families, the relationship between merchants and the ranchers and farmers became strained. The ranchers and farmers felt betrayed. Some ranchers and farmers refused to do any shopping in Forsyth, while others reduced their shopping in the community. They were also instrumental in the defeat of Gene Kurtz, the mayor of Forsyth, when he ran for state legislature. Opposition to his candidacy was based on his pro-development stance.

5.5 Summary

5.5.1 Relationship of Change to Energy Development

Energy development provided the main impetus for the changes that occurred during the study period. However, national trends of increased demand for individual and group rights, concern for the quality of the environment, and for social welfare cannot be ignored.

---

[1] Both townspeople and ranchers justified their position in terms of their concern for the future of their community. In the long run, this mutual concern for the future may serve as the vehicle for defusing the antagonism and provide a basis for constructive discussion.

5.5.2 Relationship between Pre-project Characteristics and Changes in Stratification

Before energy development began, farmers and ranchers were the social, political, and economic leaders in Rosebud County. Merchants in Forsyth catered to their needs. With the development of Colstrip units 1 and 2, merchants saw a chance to increase their income by tailoring their business to the needs of the in-migrating construction and energy workers. This caused conflict between farmers and ranchers who wanted to maintain the status quo, and merchants who were pro-change.

However, the well-established political and social stratification system within the town of Forsyth was not substantially affected by the newcomers since newcomers generally lived outside city limits and had little interest in local politics. The social and political system thus remained intact during the impact period, and it was able to respond when necessary to the various problems caused by energy development.

6. EXTRA-LOCAL LINKAGES

6. EXTRA-LOCAL LINKAGES

6.1 Introduction

Of all the changes that occurred in Forsyth during the study period, perhaps none were more significant than the changes in extra local linkages, especially changes in political linkages.

6.2 Political Linkages

6.2.1 Presence of State and Federal Agencies

The few state and federal agencies that are located in Forsyth are rather minor in their influence on political, economic, or social linkages. State agencies include two state liquor stores, a social services/ welfare office, and a mental health/drug abuse office. The mental health/drug abuse program was in Forsyth prior to the impacts from Colstrip units 1 and 2. During the study period, an additional state liquor store was located in Forsyth. The federal agencies located in Forsyth provide agricultural services and include the soil survey, Farmers Home Administration, and conserva- tion agencies. There is also a post office.

6.2.2 Political Contacts

During the study period, Forsyth made some very fundamental changes in its method of financing city projects. When the first impacts from units 1 and 2 occurred, the city had no resources other than the mill levy on property value to support city services. The strategy taken by the city council was to increase the mill levy to its legal maximum, do as much as possible with the money received, and weather out the rest. At that time they had no other real alternatives.

With the establishment of the state Coal Board, Forsyth organized itself to apply for and obtain monies from this rich source of funds. The town of Forsyth submitted the largest number of grant requests originating from Rosebud County. As indicated previously, the Coal

Board required satisfaction of several criteria to qualify for assistance. Forsyth compiled data to present to the coal board illustrating that the town had the following:

1) A 23 percent increase in population from 1970 to 1976
2) An increase of 241 hookups to the water and sewer sytem between 1970 and 1976
3) The addition of 6.1 miles of streets since 1972
4) A 30 percent increase in permanent Burlington Northern Railroad employees
5) The addition of 162 new mobile homes in the city, plus impacts from county residents residing proximate to town borders (Forsyth Independent 1976)

The decision to go outside of traditional community funding was virtually unopposed in Forsyth, although the community had to provide some money of its own to support each project for which it sought assistance. The city council and townspeople reported that they viewed this as an opportunity to implement many badly needed projects with relatively little expenditure from the community.

Throughout the analysis, it is important to remember that construction of Colstrip units 3 and 4 was expected to begin as soon as units 1 and 2 were completed. Although Forsyth did not get money from the Coal Board until after most of the impacts from units 1 and 2 were past, from the current perspective -- expecting greater impacts with units 3 and 4 -- the revenues from the Coal Board were imperative and timely.

In fact, the construction of units 3 and 4 was delayed by legal suits for three years, during which time Forsyth used the Coal Board money to upgrade the water and sewer system (which was dilapidated in 1970), improve roads and streets, build new buildings, upgrade the police department, and improve the school facilities.

In addition to applying to the Coal Board, Forsyth aggressively pursued grants. As a result, the town received an LEAA grant to upgrade administration in the law enforcement area.

The legal delays to units 3 and 4 allowed Forsyth to plan and prepare more thoroughly than they did for units 1 and 2. They felt that by using the coal money wisely, they could become prepared to handle the anticipated impacts from Colstrip units 3 and 4.

Forsyth also negotiated with Montana Power Company and received substantial funds from them for underwriting the industrial bonds for the pollution control equipment needed for units 3 and 4. MPC had approached the state and Rosebud County commissioners to underwrite the bonds; both refused. Forsyth then offered to float the bonds, and MPC accepted. In return for this service, Forsyth received a check for $750,000 from MPC in 1979. This money was placed in a trust fund which stipulates that each year 50 percent of the interest from the trust is to be fed back into the principal and 50 percent is to be used for the city budget. With this strategy, city officials anticipate that an increasing portion of the municipal revenues will be provided by sources other than property taxes.

Forsyth was in a unique position to increase its scope of funding for city projects, and took good advantage of it. By formulating a convincing proposal demonstrating the previous and anticipated level of impact, the school system also received a substantial amount of money from the Coal Board. These extra-local linkages enabled Forsyth to formulate and fund many needed projects which the community would otherwise not have been able to undertake. This approach succeeded because it was supported not only by political leaders, but by members of the community as well. Given the extent of the changes and the generally conservative nature of the community, support for these innovative financing programs (some of which were based on future revenues) illustrated the extent of the need and the ability of local leaders and citizens to coordinate their efforts.

6.3 Economic Linkages

Aside from the aforementioned linkages with Montana Power Company, the community experienced few changes in economic linkages. The predicted population increase and long-term economic growth were not large enough to attract many new businesses of any type, and few chain stores entered the Forsyth market. Because the development was actually at Colstrip, no field offices or project managers for the energy projects were located in Forsyth. Instead, actual and anticipated energy development in Rosebud County between 1970 and 1985 stabilized businesses already in Forsyth and encouraged them to stay in town, rather than closing and moving elsewhere.

6.4 Social Linkages

6.4.1 Population In-migration

The majority of the newcomers to Forsyth did not become well-integrated into the community. Most in-migrants expected to remain only temporarily, and they often maintained their extra-local ties rather than establishing extensive new ones in the community. Because of this, the ability of the community to exercise social control over the newcomers was somewhat limited. That is, the community was not able to extend its value system and norms to the newcomers. On the other hand, since the great majority of the newcomers were from small towns in Montana or neighboring states, their values and lifestyles did not differ enough from the community's to result in any major problems. Indeed, one is struck by the lack of effective social/cultural characterizations of the in-migrants, probably for this very reason.[1]

The nature and type of social linkages for longtime residents did not change appreciably during the study period, although during the late 1970s there was increased tension between those in favor of development and those opposed to it. This was aggravated by the political nature of the permitting process and the high degree of uncertainty about both procedures and outcomes.

---

[1] This is true not only for Forsyth but for the energy projects that occurred throughout the mountain West during the 1970s.

6.4.2 Communication Linkages

Forsyth has more than adequate access to the media. There was KIKC, a local radio station; the Forsyth Independent, an active weekly newspaper; and the Billings Gazette, a daily paper. In addition, Forsyth had cable TV, including Home Box Office.

6.4.3 Voluntary Associations

The voluntary organizations in Forsyth with the most extra-local focus were the Lions Club and the Rail Union. Even these, however, focused primarily on community events and activities.

6.4.4 Effects on the System

The movement of the construction population in and out of Forsyth seemed to have had little effect on the social linkages of the community.

6.5 Summary

The most significant change in extra-local linkages occurred when the city council and School District No. 4 went to the Coal Board for funds. This, of course, was entirely due to energy development. Without energy development, the Coal Board would not have been established in the first place.

7. INTEGRATION

7. INTEGRATION

7.1 Introduction

The controversial nature and magnitude of the energy development project proposed in Rosebud County had potential to cause severe impact to the entire social structure, particularly given the isolated location of the project site.

As discussed in previous chapters, the proposals for coal development made by Montana Power Company resulted in conflict. Ranchers living in the southern part of the county within the energy resource area saw development as a threat to their position in the social structure and also as being destructive to their rural lifestyle. They formed several organizations to oppose any type of development. In contrast, Forsyth residents were primarily in favor of development and saw it as the salvation of the town's faltering economy. Since Forsyth was the county seat, as well as the county trade center, this difference in perspective made conflict between the two groups inevitable.

Historically, Forsyth had provided business, financial, and social services to the ranching interest throughout the central portion of the county. Pertinent to the discussion of the conflict is the size of Rosebud County, which stretches 120 miles from the north to south. This geographic extensiveness meant that the perceived importance of the proposed projects differed substantially among ranchers and farmers in the county. Those in the northern corner were less directly affected by the development than those in the south, where the fear of a cumulative effect in terms of development was high.

Also of importance is the fact that Forsyth had historically not been entirely dependent upon agricultural. Railroad activity and mining had traditionally also played an important role economically, politically and socially. The construction of I-94 in the early 1970s placed

Forsyth at an advantage in terms of communication with other areas, and in capturing tourism and transportation sector revenues.

The poor economic condition of the town in 1970 made residents sensitive to their own future, and less vulnerable to pressure from the ranchers to support them in their opposition to the proposed development activities. Nevertheless, the subdued nature of support for development emanating from Forsyth during the early 1970s indicates their recognition of the potentially adverse economic, political, and social consequences of openly opposing the ranchers' position.

This chapter discusses the efforts made by Forsyth residents to pursue what they saw as their own best interests while not further aggravating the conflict with the ranchers. Associated with this were the efforts made by the town to maintain a good working relationship with the county government, and to coordinate town and county resources.

7.2 Political Integration

7.2.1 Existing Jurisdictions and Leadership

Throughout the study period, the city council and county commissioners did not work together too often, although there were notable exceptions. This was due largely to the separation of powers and duties of the two governmental entities and to the lack of facilitating state mechanisms promoting jurisdictional cooperation and coordination. The demands of development prompted the city council and county commissioners to attempt a greater number of cooperative efforts than had been initiated prior to development, but there was a consensus among the community leaders that the two groups did not work as closely together as they should have and that the effectiveness of their response was consequently lessened.

This lack of cooperation was also caused by the fact that the county commissioners were concerned mostly about Colstrip and the ranchers and farmers, while the city council had a more narrow focus.

7.2.2 Creation of New Cooperative Agency and Coordinative Actions

The City-County Planning Board was designed to be an advisory board to both the council and commissioners, but its actual political power was extremely limited, and it was not a very effective integrative agency between the city council and county commissioners. Some of its recommendations were ignored by either the city council, the county commissioners, or both.

7.2.3 Effect on System

Perhaps the biggest effect on the system was the idea that the city council and county commissioners could, and should, work together.

The leadership in Forsyth had decided early-on that development, well controlled, would benefit the town. The emerging ranching leadership, which applied substantial pressure to the county commission as well as the business leaders, believed exactly the opposite, and made clear that active pursuit or support of development by the town of Forsyth would result in economic retaliation by the ranchers. Despite the reduced importance of agriculture to Forsyth by 1970, this threat was sufficient to cause the town to remain relatively silent publicly during the early years of the conflict.

According to interviews in the Forsyth, Colstrip, and Ashland area, community leaders could appreciate the perspective of the ranchers. The ranchers, however, stated that they could not appreciate the viewpoint of the townspeople and maintained that development would be detrimental to the entire county, Forsyth included. This created an underlying tension between the town council and the county commission, both of which were generally in favor of development, and the ranching community.

As development progressed, personal relationships between townspeople and ranchers became strained. This was especially noted by the ISSR study. The City-County Planning Board was designed to be an advisory board to both the city council and the commissioners, but its power was limited. Given the differences in perspective between the two agencies it was advising, it is not surprising that some of its recommendations were ignored by either the city council, the county commissioners, or both. Despite these difficulties, the planning board and city council did managed to develop more comprehensive plans and methods of enforcing existing legislation to control growth.

As discussed previously, the town leadership was quite effective in getting community residents to establish long-range goals and in divising programs and actions to achieve them, but the majority of the impact occurred before these actions (and mechanisms such as the Coal Board) were taken or established. It is difficult to determine how well Forsyth would have been able to handle the growth that occurred had Montana Power Company not pursued quite such an active mitigation program in Colstrip.

Meanwhile, as Colstrip activities neared their peak, the pace in Forsyth slowed, and most residents did not consider the town "currently" impacted. This indicated the effectiveness of mitigation program undertaken by MPC in Colstrip (see Section 3.3).

Based on the community's ability to take effective action and the lack of turnover among elected, appointed, or informal leaders in Forsyth, it is apparent that the majority of community residents were at least moderately satisfied with the coordinative efforts of the town government. In addition, almost all studies of the community note the friendly attitude of community residents and their willingness to be pleasant to newcomers.

The conflict and antagonism between townspeople and ranchers in the southern part of the county persisted up to the time of the study (November 1981). Some ranchers expressed feelings of alienation from the larger county "community," and some even made good their threat not to patronize Forsyth businesses because of their failure to support the ranchers' cause. Many townspeople indicated that while they regretted the split, they nevertheless felt that the ranchers took an elitist and arrogant attitude, and resented that ranchers were so single-minded about imposing their own view on others in the county. Whether these antagonisms would deepen and become institutionalized and ritualized or whether, once the period of decision-making regarding coal development was past, they would gradually moderate, was not clearly evident at the time of the study.

8. INDICATORS OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING

8. INDICATORS OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING

8.1 Introduction

This section discusses the indicators of social well-being of the residents of Rosebud County and compares community indicators of well-being with other energy-impacted counties in Montana and, where possible, the nation. Three indicators of community well-being are discussed:

1) Behavioral measures
2) Indicators of material well-being
3) Attitudes of local residents to change and anticipated change

8.2 Behavioral Indicators of Well-being

The behavioral indicators discussed below include suicides, divorce, infant mortality, and crime.

8.2.1 Suicide

Suicide has been identified as a behavioral measurement of a community's well-being. The data on suicides for Rosebud County are shown in Table 8-1. The actual number of suicides in Rosebud County throughout the study period was so low that comparisons between years, numbers, and counties would be unreliable.

8.2.2 Divorce

Divorce also is frequently used as an indicator of the social well-being of a community. Table 8-2 shows the incidence of divorce in Rosebud County, other Montana counties, the state, and the United States. Between 1971 and 1981, the divorce rates in Rosebud, Dawson, McCone, Prairie, and Richland counties and the state fluctuated, while in the United States, the divorce rate increased consistently.

TABLE 8-1

Indicators of Community Well-being - Suicide
(Number (Rate per 100,000 population)

Year	Rosebud County	Dawson County	McCone County	Prairie County	Richland County	Montana
1970						79 (11.4)
1971						117
1972	1 (15.8)	-	-	-	-	87 (12.1)
1973	1 (15.1)	-	-	1 (50.0)	1 (10.3)	108 (15.0)
1974	2 (26.0)	1 (9.2)	1 (37.0)	-	2 (20.2)	122 (16.6)
1975	0 (0.0)	1 (9.6)	1 (37.0)	-	1 (10.3)	112 (15.0)
1976	1 (10.1)	1 (8.9)	-	-	2 (19.4)	129 (17.1)
1977	4 (38.1)	3 (26.3)	-	-	3 (29.4)	143 (18.8)
1978	3 (30.9)	5 (49.3)	-	-	3 (27.8)	122 (15.5)
1979	2 (20.6)				1 (8.9)	123 (15.6)
1980	2 (20.2)	1 (8.4)			1 (8.1)	116 (14.7)

Source: Montana State Department of Health and Environmental Sciences, Bureau of Records and Statistics, yearly report 1971-1980.

TABLE 8-2

Indicators of Community Well-being - Divorce
Number (Rate per 1,000 population)

Year	Rosebud County	Dawson County	McCone County	Prairie County	Richland County	Montana	United States
1970						3,051 (4.4)	3.5
1971	24 (3.9)	32 (2.8)	3 (1.0)	1 (0.5)	32 (3.2)	3,366 (4.7)	3.7
1972	25 (3.9)	37 (3.4)	3 (1.1)	1 (0.6)	19 (1.9)	3,609 (5.0)	4.1
1973	23 (3.4)	34 (3.1)	5 (1.8)	3 (1.5)	28 (2.9)	3,772 (5.2)	4.4
1974	27 (3.5)	42 (3.9)	4 (1.5)	2 (1.1)	32 (3.2)	3,940 (5.4)	4.6
1975	50 (5.8)	56 (5.4)	5 (1.9)	1 (0.5)	32 (3.3)	4,286 (5.7)	4.9
1976	53 (5.4)	64 (5.7)	1 (0.4)	5 (2.9)	43 (4.2)	4,850 (6.4)	5.0
1977	59 (5.6)	40 (3.5)	4 (1.4)	5 (2.8)	36 (3.5)	4,813 (6.3)	5.0
1978	37 (3.8)	59 (5.2)	4 (1.5)	7 (3.7)	41 (3.8)	4,877 (6.2)	5.2
1979	39 (3.9)	63 (5.5)	3 (1.1)	2 (1.1)	52 (4.6)	5,107 (6.5)	NA
1980	54 (5.4)	64 (4.5)	1 (0.3)	3 (1.6)	55 (4.5)	4,947 (6.3)	NA

Sources: State of Montana Department of Health and Environmental Sciences, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Yearly Report 1971-80. Sam Sperry, Vital Statistics, State of Montana, personal communication.

Note: NA = Not available.

8.2.3 Infant Mortality

Infant mortality is defined as the death of an infant aged 0 days to 1 year, and the infant mortality rate is defined as the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births. Table 8-3 shows the incidence and rate of infant mortality in Rosebud County since 1971. The infant mortality rates for the counties and state for the period were unstable. The small number of infant deaths reported accounted for the disproportionate ratios from county to county and from county to state. The Rosebud County rate is influenced by the presence of the Northern Cheyenne reservation because Native Americans continue to suffer higher-than-average rates of infant mortality.

8.2.4 Crime

As shown in tables 8-4 and 8-5, total crimes in Rosebud county fluctuated from 1973 on, as did the crime rate. Crimes against persons (murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) declined, while crimes against property (burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson) increased. Rosebud County's crime rate, however, was low in relation to what occurred in other energy development communities.

8.3 Material Indicators of Community Well-being

The material indicators of a community's social well-being addressed herein are as follows:

1) Per capita income
2) Unemployment
3) Public assistance and welfare
4) Number of retail businesses
5) Student-teacher ratios

8.3.1 Per Capita Income

Per capita income in Rosebud County (shown in Table 8-6) more than doubled between 1970 and 1979, with an average annual growth of 14.5 percent in current dollars. In constant 1972 dollars, per capita income

TABLE 8-3

Indicators of Community Well-being - Infant Mortality
Number (Rate per 1,000 live births)

Year	Rosebud County	Dawson County	McCone County	Prairie County	Richland County	Montana
1971	2 (11.1)	5 (23.5)	3 (47.6)		3 (16.8)	267 (21.6)
1972	3 (21.1)	3 (15.4)	1 (25.6)		1 (6.2)	225 (19.7)
1973	6 (37.5)	2 (12.0)			2 (11.1)	222 (19.5)
1974	1 (5.2)	3 (15.5)			2 (9.9)	202 (16.5
1975	0 (0.0)	3 (14.9)	1 (16.7)		1 (5.0)	187 (15.5)
1976	3 (13.3)	5 (25.8)	3 (58.8)	1 (38.5)	2 (10.0)	209 (16.6)
1977	4 (17.2)	2 (9.9)	1 (22.7)		7 (32.9)	183 (13.8)
1978	6 (27.8)	2 (9.1)			4 (18.2)	155 (11.4)
1979	6 (26.3)	2 (8.8)	1 (16.4)		1 (3.5)	151 (10.7)
1980	2 (9.4)	3 (13.3)			5 (16.9)	176 (12.3)

Sources: State of Montana, Department of Health and Environmental Sciences, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Yearly report 1971-1980; Sam Sperry, Vital Statistics, State of Montana, personal communication.

TABLE 8-4

Crime by Categories
Rosebud County

Year	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Against Person								
Murder	0	2	1	0	3	1	1	1
Rape	2	4	2	1	0	1	2	0
Robbery	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assault	15	7	14	11	5	3	10	10
Against Property								
Burglary	20	19	36	53	24	18	12	27
Larceny	53	68	104	104	74	60	99	149
MV Theft	8	8	5	24	5	6	14	14
Arson	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total Crime	99	109	163	193	111	89	138	201
Rate/1,000	14.4	13.6	16.8	19.5	10.6	10.2	14.2	18.4
State Rate	34.2	40.0	44.5	42.9	42.1	40.0	44.6	

Source: Personal communication, Diana Smith, Statistical Technician, Montana Board of Crime Control, Helena, Montana 17 June 1981.

TABLE 8-5

Indicators of Community Well-being - Crime
Number (Rate per 1,000)

Year	Rosebud County	Dawson County	McCone County	Prairie County	Richland County	Montana
1973	99 (14.4)	376 (34.5)		40 (20.0)	111 (11.4)	24,659 (34.2)
1974	109 (13.6)	342 (31.4)		29 (15.2)	104 (10.5)	29,420 (40.0)
1975	163 (16.8)	397 (38.2)		45 (23.1)	139 (14.3)	33,278 (44.5)
1976	193 (19.5)	243 (21.7)		14 (7.6)	153 (14.8)	32,310 (42.
1977	111 (10.6)	344 (30.2)	7 (2.5)	20 (11.1)	175 (17.2)	32,019 (42.1)
1978	89 (10.2)	276 (24.2)	32 (11.8)	8 (4.2)	203 (18.8)	31,396 (40.0)
1979	138 (14.2)	356 (31.2)	13 (4.6)	17 (8.9)	208 (18.6)	35,059 (44.6)
1980	201 (18.4)					

Source: Personal communication, Larry Petersen, Montana Board of Crime Control, Helena, Montana, June 1981.

TABLE 8-6

Indicators of Community Well-being
Per Capita Income

Year	Rosebud County	Dawson County	McCone County	Prairie County	Richland County	Montana
1970	$2,768	$3,241	$3,467	$2,610	$3,080	$3,395
1971	2,818	3,026	3,168	2,760	2,946	3,503
1972	3,224	3,920	4,812	4,094	3,850	4,013
1973	4,554	5,564	11,184	7,282	4,694	4,699
1974	4,326	5,516	7,218	5,681	5,337	4,982
1975	5,351	5,532	6,567	5,671	5,395	5,387
1976	4,793	5,405	5,893	5,420	5,244	5,583
1977	4,899	5,825	4,661	4,743	5,706	6,020
1978	6,392	6,925	7,961	5,533	7,733	7,071
1979	6,377	7,477	4,942	5,562	8,000	7,528

Source: USDC, BEA, REIS, April 1981, Washington, D.C.

increased from $2,992 to $3,905, a 30.5 percent change. Over the same period, Montana's per capita income in constant dollars increased from $3,670 to $4,610, a 25.6 percent change. Dawson, McCone, Prairie, and Richland counties experienced growth in per capita income, with Richland County having the largest growth for the period 1970-79. In constant 1972 dollars, McCone county experienced a decline in per capita income.

8.3.2 Unemployment

Unemployment rates (see Table 8-7) for Rosebud County since 1970 have been below the state average (except in 1977), but since 1976, above that of the other counties. The significantly low unemployment rates in McCone and Prairie counties are typical of stable, no-growth economies, while the relatively low unemployment rates in Dawson and Richland counties reflect the oil and gas exploration.

8.3.3 Public Welfare and Assistance

The available public welfare and assistance data for Rosebud County are shown in Table 8-8. Changes in policies and reporting procedures make these data difficult to interpret. It is evident, however, that no outstanding increase in cases of aid to dependent children or general assistance occurred during the study period.

8.3.4 Number of Retail Businesses

Most residents in rural western counties expressed a desire for more and better commercial facilities. As seen in Table 8-9, the energy development in Rosebud County did little to increase the number of retail establishments. Between 1972 and 1979, the number of retail establishments in Forsyth increased by only four. These data conform with Forsyth residents' reports that the business sector showed little diversification or numerical expansion during the 1970s.

8.3.5 Student/Teacher Ratios

Student/teacher ratios for Rosebud County from 1975 to 1980 are shown in Table 8-10. Even during the period of peak population impact

TABLE 8-7

Indicators of Community Well-being
Unemployment

Year	Rosebud County	Dawson County	McCone County	Prairie County	Richland County	Montana
1970	3.1	2.4	1.9	3.0	3.6	4.3
1971	3.0	3.7	2.6	4.5	4.3	4.8
1972	3.2	3.5	2.6	2.9	3.8	4.8
1973	3.2	3.9	2.5	3.1	3.8	4.8
1974	3.6	3.1	2.2	2.9	3.6	5.2
1975	3.3	3.8	2.2	2.0	3.9	6.4
1976	5.8	3.5	2.3	2.5	3.7	6.1
1977	6.9	4.5	3.5	2.9	3.6	6.4
1978	5.9	4.2	4.5	3.3	2.7	6.0
1979	5.1	3.5	1.6	2.9	1.9	5.1
1980	5.4	3.1	1.8	3.0	2.6	6.0

Sources: Montana Department of Labor and Industry, Employment Security Division, Montana Employment and Labor Force, July 1977, March 1978.

Personal communication, Tom Murphy, Research Assistant, Montana Department of Labor and Industry, 8 September 1981.

TABLE 8-8

Public Assistance
Rosebud County

Year	Cases	AFDC Expend.	Average AFDC Payment	Cases	Foster Care Expend.	Cases	Food Stamps Expend.	General Assistance Cases	General Assistance Expend.	Child Receiving Services Cases	Child Receiving Services Expend.
1970	1,582			37				29		0	
1971	1,570			88				24		1	
1972	1,421			82				19		93	
1973	1,435			238				4		283	
1974	1,611			254				4		152	
1975	1,496	$200,952	$134.35	294			2,095	14		121	
1976	1,367	210,608	153.88	293			1,766	41		171	
1977	1,512	242,862	160.11	392			1,555	17		233	
1978	1,589	279,820	175.93	440			1,309	12		98	
1979	1,620	309,387	190.73	353			3,239	2		20	
1980	1,561			430				9		20	

Sources: Bureau of Statistics and Research, State of Montana; Personal communication, Laura Paisley, Bureau of Statistics and Research, Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services, May and July, 1980.

TABLE 8-9

Indicators of Community Well-being
Retail Business

Year	Rosebud County	Dawson County	McCone County	Prairie County	Richland County	Montana
1970		81	22	22	90	5,080
1971						
1972	48	78	22	19	92	
1973	47	81	22	20	89	5,513
1974		76	15	19	87	5,506
1975		79	12	19	88	5,467
1976	49	83	12	21	87	5,693
1977	52	92	10	21	93	5,994
1978	53	92	12	20	91	5,953
1979	52	89	12	17	90	5,847

Source: USDC, BOC, County Business Patterns, Montana, Yearly.

TABLE 8-10

Indicators of Community Well-being
Pupil/Teacher Ratio

Year	Rosebud County	Dawson County	McCone County	Prairie County	Richland County	Montana
1975	18.1	17.9	14.2	17.5	17.2	18.4
1976	15.8	17.1	14.7	15.6	16.5	18.1
1977	15.5	17.4	13.8	15.1	16.0	17.8
1978	14.9	16.0	13.3	16.8	15.7	17.3
1979	14.6	15.1	14.4	16.2	16.2	17.0
1980	14.7	15.6	14.0	18.6	16.3	17.0

Source: Personal communication, Steve Colberg, Research Specialist, Montana Office of Public Institution, Helena, Montana, May 1981.

(1975-1976), the student/teacher ratios in Rosebud County schools were below those of the state (although only slightly in 1975, reflecting the unanticipated student growth that occurred in that year).

8.3.6 Medical Facilities and Physicians

Inadequate medical facilities and inadequate numbers of health care professionals are frequently cited as two of the most mitigation-resistant problems of rural areas. These problems are further aggravated by the rapid growth associated with energy development. Table 8-11 shows that response to the expressed need for additional physicians in Rosebud County did not occur until after 1975, the period of peak employment and population in Rosebud County. At the time of this study, Forsyth and the county were still experiencing difficulty in attracting and keeping medical professionals.

TABLE 8-11

Indicators of Community Well-being
Rosebud County
Medical

Year	No. MDS	No. Beds	Percent Occupancy
1973		18	
1974		18	
1975	3	18	
1976		18	
1977		18	*44.3
1978		18	*25.1
1979	8	18	
1980		18	

Sources: Health Data Book, Montana Department of Health and Environmental Science, 1979; Licensed Hospitals in State of Montana, Montana Department of Health and Environmental Sciences, 1977; Characteristics of Physicians-Montana, USD of HEW, 31 December 1975.

9. SUMMARY

9. SUMMARY

9.1 The Community Prior to Development

Forsyth is located on the Yellowstone River in the central portion of Rosebud County, approximately 130 miles northeast of Billings and 45 miles west of Miles City. I-94 was constructed through Forsyth in 1970-71, resulting in the destruction of a portion of the town's residential area.

Forsyth is located along two rail lines, and was a division point for the Northern Pacific Railroad. As a result, Forsyth developed as a railroad town which was also a service center for the surrounding ranchers and farmers.

Forsyth was incorporated in the early 1900s and become the county seat of newly established Rosebud County. Up to the time of the study, Forsyth remained the only incorporated community in the county, providing governmental and commercial services to a number of small service centers scattered throughout the county. Forsyth was also the county contact center for non-Indians and Native Americans, and the various institutions and regulations associated with Indian reservations.

In the 1920s, the Northern Pacific Railroad opened a rail spur to Colstrip, 38 miles south, where it established a coal mine to supply fuel to the railroad. Because coal production increased through 1943, Colstrip grew from only a few residents to nearly 600 people, and employment of mine and railroad workers in Forsyth increased as well.

From the mid-1940s, the population and economy of Forsyth and Rosebud County declined as a result of the general national decline in the importance of rail transportation, and consolidation and decline in the agricultural sector as well. This occurred despite a high net natural increase among the Native American population. In 1970, the population of Forsyth was 1,873; Rosebud County's was 6,187.

Primary occupations in Forsyth were service, government, and TCPU, although the county showed a higher proportion employed in agriculture than the state as a whole. The majority of the county's land area was devoted to agriculture.

Prior to energy development, Forsyth maintained overlapping leadership and stratification systems. The town community recognized rail, energy, business, and ranching interests, with community leadership concentrated among those in business. The county government, also located in Forsyth, was based on and focused almost entirely on the ranching and farming community. Because of the size of the county, contact between ranchers in the north and those in the south (where the energy resources were located) was limited.

Forsyth is sandwiched between the Yellowstone River (from which it has adequate water rights to meet community needs) and the new interstate highway. However, adequate land for expansion was available in the surrounding unincorporated area east and west of town.

The primary organizations in Forsyth, along with the churches, were the city and county governments, fraternal organizations (especially the Lions), and the rail labor unions. The town's chamber of commerce was also active.

Prior to development, Rosebud County was controlled by conservative agricultural interests, while town politics were more diversified and tended to reflect business and railroad interests.

Both prior to and during the impact period, most Forsyth residents and nearly all town leaders expressed approval of development, although no one wanted growth of such magnitude that its effects could not be controlled. In contrast, county ranchers, especially those in the south near the coal deposits, expressed strong and adamant opposition to energy development.

9.2 Description of Energy Projects and Summary of Project Inputs

9.2.1 Projects

In 1958, Montana Power Company purchased the Rosebud Mine and the town of Colstrip from the Northern Pacific Railroad. In 1968, the mine in Colstrip was reopened at low production levels, and coal from the mine was shipped to Billings to fuel the power plant there. In 1972, construction started on the first two 350-Mw units of the Colstrip generating facility. Construction employment on these units peaked in 1975 (1,632 construction workers), and the units went into operation in the late 1970s. Meanwhile, plans were announced for the construction of two additional 700 Mw units at Colstrip. As a result of extensive opposition (largely by environmentalists and the ranchers), construction of these units was delayed until 1980.

The one other coal-related activity in the county was the Big Sky Mine operated by the Peabody Coal Company and located south of Colstrip. This mine started in 1969 and employed approximately 100 workers during the late 1970s.

9.2.2 Direct Project Mitigation Activities by Project Developers

Mitigation activities were undertaken by Montana Power Company, and focused on Colstrip, the company-owned town proximate to the energy activities and 38 miles south of Forsyth.

A comprehensive townsite planning, design, and implementation program was initiated in 1973 when it became evident that controlled development was not possible without major company involvement. Montana Power Company coordinated and sponsored the construction and administration of the town of Colstrip which grew in population from 200 people in 1970 to over 3,000 in 1975. All areas of municipal facilities were addressed -- housing, water and sewage, commercial facilities, parks and recreation and education. Provision of facilities lagged behind the build-up of the work force during the construction of units 1 and 2, but and 2, but maintained its schedule in providing for workers associated with units 3 and 4.

It is estimated that MPC's investment in Colstrip has exceeded $80 million. An elaborate plan for converting construction phase housing and facilities to permanent facilities was implemented to prevent transition difficulties and additional costs.

9.3 Phases of Development

9.3.1 Pre-impact: 1970 to 1972

The pre-impact phase occurred while mining was under way at the Rosebud and Big Sky mines. This period was characterized in Forsyth as one of anticipation tinged with lack of certainty that the proposed generating station would actually occur. No specific impact-related plans were made in Forsyth during this period, although many actions were being taken in Colstrip.

9.3.2 The Initial Impact Phase: 1972 to 1976

The initial impact phase began with the build-up of the construction work force in Colstrip. Because facilities there were inadequate, many workers and support staff chose to live in Forsyth, raising the population of the town to approximately 3,000 in 1975, not including those housed in the unincorporated area around the town. A crash construction program in Colstrip including provision of bachelor facilities, mobile homes, and single family dwellings, substantially reduced the impact on Forsyth, but the community's already inadequate facilities were severely strained. Confusion and anxiety resulted when plans for at least two and perhaps three additional Colstrip units were announced (each 700 Mw). School enrollment in Forsyth exceeded forecasts by almost 300 students.

A city-county planning board and the city council invoked zoning regulations to restrict the location of mobile homes within Forsyth city limits and to contain population growth. The Montana Coal Board was formed and provided grant monies to assist impact response in Forsyth.

9.3.3 Hiatus and Conflict: 1976 to 1979

Between 1976, when construction activity on units 1 and 2 was being completed, and 1979, when the permits for units 3 and 4 were finally issued, uncertainty and conflict prevailed. Organized opposition by ranchers and environmentalists as well as disarray within Montana siting agencies continued to delay and threaten the construction of units 3 and 4. In 1979, Forsyth agreed to issue to MPC the industrial bonds necessary to finance the pollution control equipment for the new units. The city received a $750,000 payment for providing this service.

During this period, the population of Forsyth dropped from its peak of over 3,000 persons to 2,553 in 1980, prior to the major work force build-up for Colstrip units 3 and 4. Mining continued at the Rosebud Mine (approximately 340 employees) and at the Big Sky Mine (approximately 100 employees). Units 1 and 2 of the power plant itself employed approximately 310 people.

Since major impacts were still anticipated in Forsyth from the construction of units 3 and 4, this period was used as a catch-up time for the community to prepare itself. Unemployment increased during this period as workers remained in the community waiting for work on the new units to begin.

9.3.4 Second Impact Phase: 1980 to time of Study (fall 1981)

Contrary to expectations, little effect was noted in Forsyth during the second work-force build-up at Colstrip. This was primarily because of the rapid expansion of housing in Colstrip instituted by Montana Power Company and the improvement in conditions, which made Colstrip a substantially more desirable place to live than in the mid 1970s. As a result, fewer workers located in Forsyth.

Businesses in Forsyth, which had expanded in anticipation of continued growth, were adversely affected, although it is hard to determine what portion of the economic difficulties were the result of depressed national economic conditions and what portion could be directly attributed to energy development effects.

Social services, except schools, are generally provided from regional centers in Montana, with field staff located as needed (provided funds are available). Compared to Colstrip, most service providers and residents did not consider Forsyth highly impacted during the 1980-81 period.

9.4 Changes in Community Resources

9.4.1 Mitigation Activities

Mitigation activities included the Colstrip townsite expansion efforts by Montana Power Company that started in 1973 and continued throughout the study period. These were, and continued to be, of major importance in understanding and evaluating the effects on Forsyth of the large-scale energy development activities in Rosebud County because they drew off a large proportion of the population which would otherwise have migrated to Forsyth.

The establishment of the 30 percent severance tax and the Montana Coal Board with authority and funds to assist impacted local jurisdictions was also critical to Forsyth's ability to respond. Monies from the Coal Board were obtained by Forsyth and the school district which enabled them to reduce the high property tax burden while providing much needed services and capital facility improvements.

9.4.2 Private Investments

There was little large-scale development in Forsyth in response to the energy development in Rosebud County, although rail facilities and personnel showed a direct increase. This was attributed to the moderate impact experienced in the first phase, to the overall uncertainty of the development sequence, and to the recent history of decline in Forsyth which raised questions about its long-term future. Generally, business owners felt that energy development would boost the local economy temporarily, but that the long-term effect on business conditions might not be so favorable. Some of this uncertainty had to do with the future characteristics (an potential competition) of Colstrip.

During the initial impact phase, both housing and land were difficult to obtain (the impact period coincided with the national depression and rise of interest rates, which undoubtedly had an effect on local development). What economic growth was prompted during the initial phase of impact (Colstrip units 1 and 2) appeared stymied by the interim period and the lack of growth during the second phase (Colstrip units 3 and 4).

9.4.3 Citizen Response

A number of organizations were formed specifically to protest the proposed energy development activities in Rosebud County. The earliest were vehemently anti-development and were initiated by area ranchers and environmentalists. These groups were formed in the early 1970s in response to the announcement of the proposed activity, and persisted throughout the study period. Opposition was intense and effectively organized. The opposition groups are given substantial responsibility for the delay in construction schedules, especially of units 3 and 4.

In the late 1970s, a pro-development organization emerged in Forsyth. Overall, residents of Forsyth seemed to favor the development, both prior to and during the impact period.

9.4.4 Housing

Housing expansion in Forsyth was inhibited for some of the same reasons that business expansion was constrained -- uncertainty about the development schedule, and uncertainty over the area's long-term economic future. Housing in the Forsyth area was particularly limited in the early 1970s due to the demolition of the large portion of the town's residential areas for construction of I-94. Mobile home development occurred in response to demand, but the city council enforced its legislation against mobile homes, forcing development into the unincorporated area of the county.

9.4.5 Merchants and Workers

Forsyth received primarily nonmanagement workers, with a high proportion of construction laborers; management and operations personnel located in Colstrip -- a specific consequence of MPC's housing and townsite development policy.

The lack of interaction between longtime residents and newcomers was consistently noted. This was attributed to Forsyth's role as a minor shopping center and bedroom community to the in-migrants. Ranchers complained about nuisance trespassing, and there were some bad feelings about newcomers "taking over" local bars, but overall, relationships appeared limited but fairly congenial.

9.4.6 Service Demands

Service demands increased in the 1973-76 period. Causing particular difficulty was the overall poor quality of Forsyth facilities and services prior to impact, the uncertainty over the magnitude and schedule of development, and the low tax base in the community. The municipality raised taxes to their legal limit and added services where it could. As soon as funds were available from the Coal Board, Forsyth applied successfully for impact monies, and services were improved during the latter part of the decade. By this time (although it was then unknown), the major period of impact was past.

During this period human services agencies became more visible and active in the area, but Montana's regional distribution system meant that staffing and administration were somewhat remote to the community (Forsyth was generally served out of Miles City). Most human service agencies stepped up their services during this period -- a regional phenomenon. Law enforcement was an important issue: complaints centered on increasingly formal procedures. The county was attempting to implement a combined city-county law enforcement program at this time, which probably compounded problems.

9.4.7 The New Economic Climate

Uncertainty and guarded optimism characterized the first impact phase in Forsyth. As anticipated population and growth failed to materialize during the interim and second phases, this feeling was replaced with bewilderment and dismay. Most of the additional growth during the second phase took place in Colstrip, rather than Forsyth.

9.5 Changes in Social Organization

9.5.1 Diversity/Complexity

Most newcomers to Forsyth were Montana residents from small towns (Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975), which substantially reduced the potential for social or political differentiation. Given the relatively low level of impact, little differentiation occurred in either the political, economic, or social spheres. In part, this was because of Forsyth's long-standing role as county seat and its previous experience with the railroad and energy development.

During the study period, the distinction between townspeople and ranchers was heightened, although it had already existed.

Little change was observed in the structure of local government, although a city-county planning board was established in response to the need for better land use and zoning controls. This limited change appeared to be a result of the presence of relatively formal political structures prior to development, to the low magnitude and sporadic duration of development effects, to the centralization of state-sponsored service agencies outside the county, and to the expansion of facilities and services in Colstrip.

9.5.2 Outside Linkages

Forsyth experienced a substantial and beneficial increase in extra-local linkages as a result of the development. As the only energy impacted county in Montana for many years, Forsyth received the attention of many outside groups, including state government. In several important instances, this resulted in the receipt of additional funds, information and expertise by the community.

Given its experience with the major railroads and energy development companies, not to mention national agricultural markets, Forsyth was used to having no control over important economic decisions/factors. Nevertheless, the town's link to the Montana Power Company through the backing of industrial bonds gave the community a substantial economic boost.

Construction workers generally did not become involved and active in the community, but maintained their ties and affiliations elsewhere. Thus, there was little change in social linkages.

Overall, the additional extra-local linkages established in Forsyth during this period appear to have increased local leverage and ability to respond to area demands. However, ranchers in the southern portion of the county felt the opposite. They believed that their way of life was threatened by the imposition of outside decisions and that their establishment of similar outside ties (through the Northern Plains Resource Council and with various national environmental groups) did not result in sufficient power to influence these decisions.

9.5.3 Distribution of Resources and Power

The established stratification system in Forsyth appeared to be relatively complex as a result of its history of growth and decline. The system was resilient enough to prevail despite the conflict between the town and the ranchers and the increased role of energy company officials and outsiders.

Although ranchers lost influence county-wide, the major elements and relative ranking of different groups within the town of Forsyth did not appear to have been greatly affected by the growth at the time of the study. Agricultural interests continued to dominate at the county level, though as Colstrip matures, it may play a critical role in influencing county priorities. For many years prior to the study period, Forsyth was clearly aligned with trade and pro-growth interests.

9.5.4 Coordination/Cooperation

Within Forsyth, the leadership demonstrated an ability to coordinate town effort and to elicit cooperation from the large majority of town residents, even in such unpleasant actions as raising local tax levies. Respondents generally felt that newcomers, though not welcomed warmly into the community, were treated fairly, and that the town had been conscientious about providing for newcomers as well as longtime residents. Coordination between the town and the county was not very good, and received criticism from leaders and community residents alike. Despite significant differences in revenue availability, no collaborative approach was devised that allowed the town to share the increased tax revenue with the county. Pressure was applied to the county government by the ranchers to oppose development, and this antagonism further inhibited the development of a joint city-county perspective that could have served as a basis for cooperation.

9.6 Changes in Social Well-being

9.6.1 Access to Resources

During the initial impact period, access to community resources declined as the community had difficulty maintaining service levels and was unable to rapidly expand dilapidated and inadequate systems. By 1981, however, access to resources -- jobs, facilities and services -- had improved substantially over pre-impact levels. This was primarily due to the increased mill levy which was imposed with anticipation of impact, placing a heavy burden on longtime resident landowners, and through the use of Coal Board funds later in the decade. Per capita income was increased.

9.6.2 Behavior Changes

Although some respondents noted that crime increased during the impact period, this was not felt to be a major problem. The increases reported were primarily in theft and the writing of bad checks. No major problems with the behavior of newcomers were noted, though strong anticipation of problems was consistently expressed during the early impact period.

No significant increases were noted in welfare or social service demands. Insufficient data are available for Forsyth alone (separated from the county as a whole) to address other behavioral indicators.

9.6.3 Perceptions of Community Well-being

Data for the initial impact period indicate a general belief among residents that development was desirable and advantageous. Nevertheless, anxiety was expressed about the degree of impact, the extent of influx of unfamiliar and possibly undesirable people, and the adverse effect on community services and facilities. At the time of the study, Forsyth residents generally reported positive feelings about the community and its response to the demands of development, but expressed concern about the long-term economic future of the community. The large majority of town residents appeared to feel that energy development had been and would continue to be a positive force in the area.

APPENDIX A:
EXAMPLE INTERVIEW GUIDE

APPENDIX A
Example Interview Guide

A.1 Agency Interviews

A.1.1 Interviews with Service Agencies
(school, social services-welfare, law enforcement, public health, mental health, judge if possible)

A.1.1.1 Schools

1) Introduce yourself and explain purpose -- want to know how community addressed each of the needs that occurred during period of rapid growth (or last five years).
2) Review population data and causes of growth.
3) Review school data (have copy ready for them) Make any corrections/additions or comments. If data not available locally, find out where it would be.
4) How has demand changed? Why? (esp. energy growth)
5) Has classroom space been adequate and available when needed to meet demand? If not, when was problem period? Why was there the problem? How was it resolved?
6) What important changes have occurred in the areas of....? Was that a problem? How were problems addressed? What are concerns for future?
    - curriculum/education approach
    - staff
    - student behavior and characteristics - probe esp. for transiency (check availability of turnover rates)
    - administrative procedures
        - any special programs for newcomers
        - any special problems created by newcomers
        - any changes due to growth
    - financing
7) What school-related changes or issues have there been that drew public interest or participation? (e.g., consolidation, new school construction, etc.) Point is to articulate public decision-making process. What are concerns?
    - Who, when, what, how, why. Who were the parties involved,
    - Who was not involved who logically should have been?
    - If there were factions, identify issue and probe for recurrence and for names of prime actors on both sides.
    - Was there a point when problems started being addressed in a new way? When? Why?
8) At the beginning of the growth period (or 10 years ago), who were the influentials in the community?
    - How has that changed? What was energy development's role? Who were key decision-makers for community during growth period?
9) Check for changes in extra-local linkages (source of funds, contacts, source of teachers in-service, etc.)

10) In their opinion, were there groups in the community that have been (or would be) affected differently by the growth and energy development?
   - -- Both positive and negative
   - -- Who, how and why (seek mechanism and understanding of change and community structure that distributes effects/opportunities) (prompt for employment, housing, services, schools, way-of-life)

11) Functional groups and social differentiation:
   - -- try to get a description of criteria for social differentiation (in pre-growth period if there was one) and of each of the major groups (size, livelihood, geographic location, ethnicity, property ownerships, relationships between groups) How has that changed? (Criteria, groups or group characteristics). The purpose is twofold: (1) to describe structural/organization characteristics of community and (2) to identify attributes of groups that could influence distribution of project effects. Get names of group representatives. (Important for interviewing but also to illustrate familiarity with different strata.)

12) Demographic characteristics of respondent
   - -- position and history of employment
   - -- length of residence in community
   - -- where from
   - -- family characteristics
   - -- age
   - -- sex
   - -- relationship to energy development

A.1.1.2 Law Enforcement

1) Introduction
2) Review.growth data
3) Review Part 1 and Part 2 crime and service provision
   - -- reported crime
   - -- calls for service
   - -- budget
   - -- uniformed officers and personnel
   - -- cars
4) Did crime and/or calls for service increase during growth period? What are expectations?
   - -- what types of crime(s)
   - -- who were (will be) perpetrators?
   - -- who were (will be) victims? Did (will) crime occur in particular neighborhoods/areas?
   - -- what do they think was (or will be) reason for change?
   - -- (Sheriff, what about specific county problems -- trespass, poaching, cattle rustling, etc. what is county people's view?)

5) Service provision
   - Were (will) personnel and equipment (be) adequate?
     If not, when was it inadequate?
     Why was it inadequate?
   - What important changes have occurred (or are anticipated) in their department?
     - staff
     - administrative procedures
     - manner of enforcement
     - source of financing

6) What law enforcement changes (or issues) have there been that drew public interest or participation? (e.g., new jail, consolidation of enforcement) Object is to articulate public decision-making, and to discuss sequence of response by community and leaders re: energy-related demands)

7) At beginning of growth period, who were the influentials? How (and when) did that change? What was role of energy development?

8) Check for changes in extra-local linkage.

9) Ask about groups and distribution of growth effects to different groups. Check especially for relationships among groups. Ask if they know representatives from each group that could be interviewed.

10) If appropriate, ask personal interview questions:
    At least get demographic characteristics
    - position and history of employment
    - length of residence in community
    - where from
    - family characteristics
    - age
    - sex
    - relationships to energy development

A.1.1.3 Social Service/Public Assistance and Mental Health

1) Introduction
2) Review growth pattern and causes
3) Review agency data structure of agency
   - by type of assistance: total annual expenditures
     expenditures per 1,000 population
     case loads
     staff levels
4) How has demand for service changed?
   Why? Change in use patterns by long-time residents? Why?
   Different use patterns by newcomers? Why? How are these reflected in the data?
5) Have staff and resources been adequate and available when needed to meet demand? If not, when was problem period? Why was there the problem? How was it resolved? Have they received adequate support from state?
6) What important changes have occurred (or are anticipated) in the areas of... What is their view on source of change? Any data?

  - child abuse and neglect
  - marital discord, spouse abuse, divorce
  - alcoholism

7) What public service/assistance-related changes or issues have there been that drew public interest or participation? Describe issue, when it occurred, who played what roles, what was outcome, how does that fit into overall decision-making pattern in community? Was there a point (in growth period) when decisions started being made in a new way or by different people?
8) Who were influentials at beginning of growth period? How has that changed? What was energy development's role? Get names of really key individuals re: community actions.
9) What distinguishable groups are there in the community? What are criteria for social differentiation? What are distinctive attributes of each group? How would one characterize relationships between groups? What about prior to growth? (Any particular neighborhoods?) Names of people who could discuss each group.
10) Have groups been affected differently by growth? Especially energy development? What about inflation? How have effects of energy development been distributed among groups? How has that occurred?
11) Demographic characteristics of respondent
    - position and history of employment
    - length of residence in community
    - where from
    - family characteristics
    - age
    - sex
    - relationship to energy development

A.1.2 Group Representatives/General Population

A.1.2.1 Introduction

A.1.2.2 Personal biography

1) Background (family, where lived)
2) When came to community
3) Educational history
4) Occupational history, esp. during 1970s
   - occupational mobility/immobility
   - energy-related employment
     how did (would) they get it? entrepreneurial - ask about financing, business style and expansions
5) Housing - price or availability
6) Family history
   family and employment history of spouse
   school experience of children
7) Service provision - any problems? evaluation -- compare predevelopment with now.
8) What recreational/social activities available and used; compare predevelopment (or future) with now.
9) Who are their friends, occupation - length of residence, location - how did they become friends? Change during study period?

9a) Who are their children's friends?

10) How were friends affected by development?
11) How about others in the community?
    What other groups do they see?
    Were any affected differently? How?
12) Have newcomers been accepted as part of the community?
    Examples of interaction between longtime residents and newcomers; between various groups.
13) How do they feel they personally have been affected (or anticipate)?
14) How do they feel their neighborhood has been affected (or anticipate)?
15) If parents are in community, how have they been affected (or anticipate)?
16) What changes have occurred in the community (or anticipate)?
    What effects have there been from energy development (or anticipate)?
    Probe child abuse
    - change in decision-making
    - change in orientation/focus
    - sense of vitality
    - sense of community purpose
17) General satisfaction with expected changes
18) If good spokesperson for their group
    - Profile of group predevelopment
      - livelihood
      - size

- location (residential)
  - property ownership
  - demographic characteristics
  - special needs
  - inter-group relationships
  - position in community and relationship with other groups
- Distribution of effects
  - employment and income
  - size
  - demographic characteristics
  - housing
  - facilities/services
  - decision-making
  - relationship with others
- Profile now

A.1.3 Decision-maker Interviews

The purpose of these interviews is to describe the evolution of community-level response to the demands of growth. In addition to this description, the purpose is to be able to determine how pre-growth community and decision-making characteristics influenced (or will influence) the response pattern and how the modification of the decision-making process has affected (will affect) community-level decision-making both during and after rapid growth. Of particular interest is the role and utilization of legislation, especially legislation developed for impact mitigation.

1. Introduction
2. Review chronology and source of growth (complete Figure 3)
3. Rapid growth creates some major needs and changes in a community. Discuss how the community addressed some of the major ones. Ask about ones already identified, but pursue others they identify.
   1) Schools
      -- Building new facilities -- how did votes come out on major bond issues? Why? Were they able to raise adequate funds? What were problems?
         Why did they occur?
         How were they addressed? Who?
         Were they solved? Will they occur again next time?
         What role did state actions/legislation play in response?
      -- How did response evolve over study period? How did the changes affect how things are done now? Was there a point when decisions or community response was approached in a new or different way?
   2) Housing
      -- How did housing response occur? How was it coordinated? What were the problems? (probe financing and zoning and legislation)
         Why did they occur?
         How were they addressed? Who?
         Were they solved? Will they recur next time?
         Role of state actions/legislation
      -- How did response evolve over study period? How do the changes that occurred affect how things are done now?
   3) Planning and zoning
      What is history of planning and zoning?
      -- How and when did formal planning and zoning get started and staffed?
      -- What role did it play throughout study period?
      -- What were problems? or key decisions?
         - How did they occur?
         - How were they addressed - by whom?
         - Were they solved or will they recur?
         - What role did legislative actions play?
         - How did response evolve over time?
           What use was made of legislation? Where did initiative come from? Was there resistance?

4) Public works
Discuss major decisions as above

5) Law enforcement
As schools

6) Animal control
What have they done? How and why? How successful?

7) Review how and when state acts designed to assist with the impacts of energy growth have been used. How important have they been? (e.g. for Wyoming: (1) sales tax (2) farm loan board (3) joint powers acts (4) industrial siting (5) severance tax)

8) In respondent's opinion, how much local control has (will) the community been (be) able to exercise over the important decisions and actions that affected it during growth period?
   - -- was prewarning adequate and accurate (information)?
   - -- cooperation from project sponsor? Describe how and why
   - -- was uncertainty about reality of development a problem? How, why?
   - -- been able to work with state in handling problems?

9) Clarify their perception of the role and importance of state involvement and of large non-local corporate involvement in the community economy/affairs who initiated? What effect now? Future?

10) How has (will) the political leadership and government structure in the community changed? regarding city council, county commission, county chairman of political parties?
   - -- Have there been any changes as a direct result of energy development?
   - -- Any that are particularly important to community's response or ability to respond?
   - -- Have companies participated? How?
   - -- Have (will) community leaders been (be) willing to address problems and take action? Why not, what was (will be) impediment?
   - -- Has (will) conflict of interest been (be) important in shaping community response, either in terms of actions taken or public trust/community support?

11) If business person or banker:
   - -- Was there (is there anticipation of) a shortage of financing for either businesses or consumers during the study period? Why? How was (will) it (be) addressed? What effect did (will) it have? Where do locals bank?
   - -- Has banking structure in the community changed? In what way? Why?
   - -- Did banking policies and practices change during the study period?
   - -- What role, if any, did energy companies play in banking, local (vs. nonlocal) businesses?

12) Demographic characteristics
   - -- occupation and previous employment history
   - -- length of residence in community
   - -- origin

- -- family characteristics (including other relatives)
- -- age
- -- sex
- -- relationship to energy development

13) Check to see if they feel any pertinent information has been neglected

14) Names of other people to talk to
    - -- influentials
    - -- group representatives
    - -- administrative leaders